

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1922

Mrs. Warren G. Harding	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
The Progress of the World—		
Republican Prestige on the Wane.....	339	
Party Loyalty Desirable.....	339	
Shall We Have Another Deadlock?.....	339	
A Badly Staged Tariff Measure.....	339	
Politics in Making Tariffs.....	340	
The Final Bill as Reported.....	340	
The Embargo on Dye-stuffs.....	340	
The Question of Potash.....	341	
Mr. Fordney Accepts the Verdict.....	341	
An Expert's Defense of Fordney.....	342	
Both Parties for High Duties.....	342	
American Markets Eagerly Sought.....	342	
How Tariffs Affect Prices.....	343	
The New Tariff is a Business Fact.....	343	
National, Not Sectional.....	344	
Next, the Bonus Bill.....	344	
How the Senators Divided.....	344	
Mr. Harding the Final Umpire.....	345	
Financial Aspects of the Bonus.....	345	
The President Under Criticism.....	346	
No Personal Ruler Needed.....	346	
The Public Must Be Aroused.....	346	
Mr. Harding and His Party at the Polls.....	347	
Bossism No Longer Controls.....	348	
The Maine Elections.....	348	
La Follette and Wisconsin Primaries.....	349	
Michigan and the Newberry Issue.....	349	
California and Hiram Johnson.....	350	
From Puget Sound to Cape Cod.....	350	
Maryland Takes the Primaries Seriously.....	350	
Hardwick and Bleasie Defeated.....	351	
"Run-offs" in Texas and Mississippi.....	351	
State and Local Activity.....	352	
The Coal Miners Return to Work.....	353	
The Anthracite Agreement Later.....	353	
British Coal Helps Out.....	353	
The President's Unavailing Efforts.....	354	
The Railroad Strike.....	355	
A Poorly-Managed Episode.....	355	
Incomes and Profits Fall Off.....	356	
The Rates Are Too High.....	356	
Ships at Wholesale.....	356	
Supporting Our Merchant Marine.....	357	
America in East and West.....	357	
Ireland's Griefs and Hopes.....	358	
Recovery Proceeds in Europe.....	358	
Opening the Public Schools.....	359	
Pursuit of Higher Education.....	360	
Phi Beta Kappa Becomes Active.....	360	
<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>		
Record of Current Events	361	
<i>With illustrations</i>		
American Problems—in Cartoons	365	
Investment Questions and Answers		
		The New Books
		<i>Page 6, advertising section</i>

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Bachrach

MRS. HARDING, WHOSE ILLNESS AROUSED THE NATION'S SYMPATHY

(It was announced on September 8 that the wife of the President had been taken seriously ill, and for several days the bulletins were far from encouraging. After a week, however, came the cheering news that the invalid was out of danger. Our Presidents have generally been fortunate in the support and co-operation of wives who have gained the affectionate esteem of the country by reason of their display of the best qualities of American womanhood. No President, it may be said, has been more fortunate than Mr. Harding in having the constant support and aid of a wife who has not only exceptional fitness for the social duties of her place as mistress of the White House, but who has a talent for affairs and is an adviser of calm judgment and rare wisdom. She was Miss Florence Kling, of Marion, Ohio, and was married to Mr. Harding July 8, 1891. The future President had gone to Marion and engaged in newspaper work at the age of nineteen or twenty, and he was not yet twenty-six when he married Miss Kling)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Republican Prestige on the Wane With the beginning of September, members of Congress of both parties and both houses grew keenly conscious of the fact that election day was only two months distant. Republicans had not failed to perceive that their party's prestige was declining, and that they were in danger of losing much if not all of the ground they had won in their brilliant victory of two years ago. It was not the opposition of the Democratic party that they were concerned about. The thing that worried them chiefly was the vague yet almost universal dissatisfaction that appeared to exist in the country itself. There was not the slightest evidence of better leadership or better policies on the Democratic side than upon the Republican. But the country was holding the Republicans responsible for legislation, for governmental acts and methods, and for business conditions. This was natural enough, because the Republicans had been placed in power by a large majority; and the party in power is always blamed for whatever happens—even for bad weather and crop failures, not to mention such things as high or low wages, low prices for farmers and high prices for consumers.

Party Loyalty Desirable It is perhaps to be regretted that the country has to so great an extent lost its belief in the magic of party names. The two great parties once had a fanatical support from the masses, grouped in rival camps. Not many voters are capable of a first-hand analysis of public policies; and only a few are of philosophic temper. Therefore, it would be well to retain a little more of the old-time faith in party organization and leadership. Neither party is as good as its devotees once thought; but both are better

than a cynical public now regards them. This, of course, is no plea for blind faith, and no apology for weak or insincere leadership. We are so fully committed at present to the two-party system, that it is not going to be superseded in the near future by casual groups or fortuitous "blocs." It is not desirable, therefore, that the party system should deteriorate through lack of the kind of consistent support that makes it worth while for men of ability and character to assume the burdens of leadership.

Shall We Have Another Deadlock? The country gave neither party a fair chance when, during the last half of Mr. Wilson's second term, it set a Republican majority in Congress over against a Democratic Administration. The protracted deadlock of two years was mischievous in many ways, and the country is still suffering from the mistakes and failures of a half-paralyzed Government during that period. In the opinion of some experienced political prophets, we are in danger of producing another deadlock by electing a Democratic Congress next month, although two years ago it was evidently the intention of the country to break up just such deadlocks and to give the Republicans a clear four-year opportunity. Yet a full Republican defeat just now would help nothing and hurt almost everything.

A Badly Staged Tariff Measure Undoubtedly the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill, in its long and rather fumbling preliminaries, had some unfortunate dress rehearsals. Never, perhaps, has a tariff bill been so badly staged from the standpoint of winning public favor. Intelligent Republicans, who are not deeply prejudiced against the bill, have been heard to say that in their

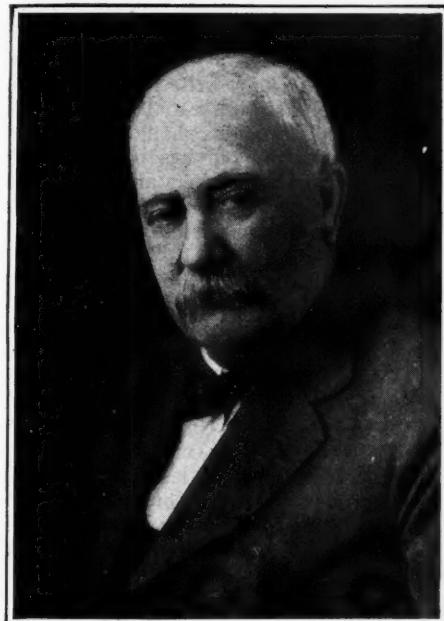
ordinary intercourse with neighbors or business associates they have met with not a single ardent supporter of the bill, and with hardly a lenient apologist for it. In view of this manifest unpopularity, and also in view of the immense number and range of differences between the House bill and the Senate bill, there was a prevalent opinion in August that the Republicans would postpone final action until after election day. It was proposed to tie up the measure in conference committee, and to adjourn Congress before the conferees had made their compromises and prepared a report. In early September, however, the high protectionists in politics, and the protected interests in business, brought successful pressure to bear for a passage of the bill before adjournment. It was announced on September 10 that the conferees had reached a full agreement and that the compromise bill would be reported at once and enacted into law within a few days.

Politics in Making Tariffs It has been regarded in times past as a perilous thing for a party to change tariff rates in

the face of a popular election. A high tariff newly enacted tempts merchants to mark up their stocks and exasperate householders. A reduced tariff, on the other hand, tempts manufacturers to cut down wage scales. Thus tariffs lose elections, regardless of their character. But in this particular instance the Republicans have probably acted with good sense in forcing the bill to a finish. The Fordney tariff was under preparation in a Republican House even during the last year of the Wilson Administration. Both houses had, at length, passed bills materially increasing average rates of duty. The differences between the bills were not of a kind to cause further delay. To have adjourned Congress without putting the measure upon the statute books would have looked like sheer political cowardice. It would have disgusted the protected interests that had helped to frame the new schedules, and it would not have gained the respect or confidence of those who believed that the bill as a whole, regardless of differences between the houses of Congress, stands for a wholly mistaken policy in this period. It was better politics, therefore, to pass the bill and then to go out to the country and make a fight to win support for the view that it ought to have a trial. And this, accordingly has been done.

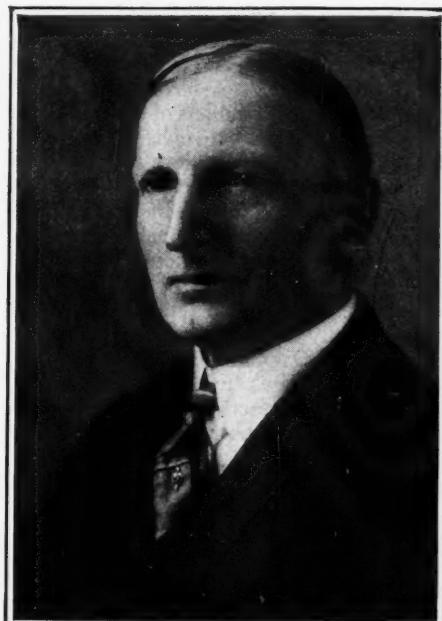
The Final Bill as Reported When, on Tuesday, September 12, the Conference Tariff agreement was reported to the House by Representative Joseph W. Fordney, of Michigan, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, there was no expectation either in Washington or elsewhere that the report would meet with serious opposition. The Republicans have a very large majority in both houses; and when a majority party's conferees fully agree upon a report that adjusts all differences between the two houses, it is always taken for granted that any further opposition will be merely perfunctory. A great surprise, therefore, was in store for the Republican leaders when the report came up on Wednesday for what was expected to be a brief final debate of a few hours before acceptance. The Fordney bill as originally drafted had continued the war-time embargo on foreign dye materials, which was directed against the German industry and which has existed ever since the war. The House debated this provision with thoroughness, in consequence of which the dye embargo was rejected and did not form a part of the Fordney bill as it went to the Senate. An endeavor to include the dye embargo in the numerous amendments of the McCumber version of the tariff had also failed in the Senate.

Thus the bill went to the conferees of the two houses with no difference to be adjusted as regards the dye embargo. Nevertheless, the Republican tariff leaders in both houses had favored the dye embargo; and they took the liberty to write it back into the harmonized measure, all of their own accord. Whether or not the conferees had exceeded their functions in thus attempting to revive the embargo is a question about which there was a difference of opinion among experienced parliamentarians at Washington. In the bill as reported on the 12th, there was found to be a provision extending the existing embargo for one year from the date of the passage of the act, with the further arrangement that the President could at his discretion extend it for a second year. Congressman Fish of New York made a scathing attack upon the conferees, which was followed by Mr. Garner of Texas as Democratic leader. Upon the roll call, the whole bill was sent back to the conference committee with



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HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, OF MICHIGAN
(Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House)



© Edmonston

HON. PORTER J. McCUMBER, OF NORTH DAKOTA
(Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate)

THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORS OF THE NEW TARIFF

instructions to eliminate the dye embargo and also to put potash on the free list. The vote on this instruction resulted in 177 supporting and 130 opposing. Of the Democrats, all but four of a total of seventy-eight voting supported the motion to recommit. As many as 102 Republicans broke away from the Fordney-Mondell leadership and supported the motion, while 130 Republicans voted to sustain the report.

The Question of Potash As for the potash question, before the war potash had been on the free list and had come almost entirely from Germany, having great importance to farmers as a fertilizer. During the war, we began in a limited way to produce potash, in Utah and elsewhere. The Fordney bill, as originally drafted, contained a duty on potash, but after full discussion in the Senate this article was placed on the free list in the McCumber bill. The conferees reported potash on the free list, but with a proviso that for three years after passage of the law imported potash should pay a duty of \$30 a ton. Members of the

House who led the successful attack upon this item of the report declared that the three-year provision was not for the sake of developing a permanent American industry, but for the benefit of certain people who were producing a limited quantity of potash in the West which they planned meantime to market at high prices, to the disadvantage of farmers.

Mr. Fordney Accepts the Verdict Mr. Fordney and two or three other Congressmen who had

been responsible for the report were at first much disturbed by the action of the House, and they intimated that long delays might follow which would prevent the passage of the tariff bill before the adjournment of Congress. This, of course, was a wholly absurd position. The Senate had already by deliberate action put potash on the free list and lifted the embargo on dyes. The action of the House on the thirteenth therefore was not of a kind to cause delay, but was precisely the opposite. It expressly harmonized the two houses on the potash issue, and it emphasized the decision that both houses had already made

on the dye question. It was the most obvious duty of the conferees to accept the instructions thus given by the House, and to do this would not have required any time at all. The members of the conference committee had only to revise their report in accordance with the clear and emphatic expression of the House. Any effort to befog the situation further by causing delay where there was no conceivable excuse for delay could only put the Republican leaders and their supporters in a position so indefensible as to give the Democrats an unexpectedly valuable point of vantage in the approaching elections. Mr. Fordney and his associates quickly recovered their poise, accepted facts in good faith, filed their amended report on Thursday, and thus the bill was put promptly upon its final passage. The vote was 210 to 90. The Senate was expected to ratify promptly.

An Expert's Defense of Fordney

Somewhat in favor of the supporters of the new high tariff is the unquestioned fact that the opposition to it has been very much overplayed. We are opening our pages this month to an article in defense of the new tariff, written by Mr. Dingley of Washington, who is well known as a Republican journalist and a tariff expert, and whose father was the eminent Maine Congressman who, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, framed the Dingley Tariff of twenty-five years ago. We do not present

this article as an impartial analysis such as Professor Taussig might undertake. It is more in the nature of a partisan reply to critics. Mr. Dingley writes, however, with conviction and sincerity, and it is desirable that Republican voters should know upon what grounds the bill has been enacted; while Democratic speakers and voters will also find it convenient to have Mr. Dingley's statement of the case before them.

Both Parties for High Duties

It is to be borne in mind that, from the European standpoint, all of our tariffs since the Civil War period have been high protectionist measures. The Wilson bill made rates that were lower than the McKinley bill, and the present Underwood schedules (except as modified by certain rates fixed in the Emergency bill of last year) average lower than the Dingley or Payne-Aldrich tariffs. The new Fordney-McCumber bill advances rates, and the average is perhaps as high as in any former measure. Nevertheless, all these bills, Republican and Democratic alike, have been strongly protectionist in theory and in practice. The American market is the most desirable in the world. The protectionists have thought it best to develop and diversify American industries rather than to open our market freely to the textile goods, the iron and steel products, the chemicals, and various other things that are made for export in the industrial centers of Europe.

American Markets Eagerly Sought

At the present time the conditions that exist in Europe have decidedly a more marked bearing upon the tariff policy of the United States than they had before the Great War. The protectionists hold that if Europe's reconstruction is to be hastened by giving German and other foreign industries a greatly enlarged access to the American market by lowering the tariff wall, we shall merely perpetuate false systems and aggravate difficulties. Too great a flood of European imports would derange our own industries and would throw millions of our people out of work. This would inevitably be followed by a sharp change in our tariff policies, the enactment of prohibitive rates, and the consequent stoppage of the German mills that had been allowed to supply the American trade. Our Republican protectionist politicians and the leaders of our protected industries claim that it is best,



AND THE POOR FELLOW CAN'T READ

From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

[A typical Democratic cartoon to the effect that the new Republican tariff affords a very unsafe bridge for the G. O. P. as it seeks to gain the November goal]

not only for us but for the world at large, that the American home market should continue to be mostly supplied by American industries, and that the European countries should adjust their business conditions upon more normal principles than prevailed before the war.

High Rates and Cost of Living

Whether or not this protection of the American market requires rates as high as most of those fixed in the new Fordney-McCumber Tariff is a question that involves the study of an immense number of facts. We need in every way to strengthen the Tariff Board, in order that these facts may be better digested and made more readily available, both for Congressmen and for ordinary citizens. To advance some rates will undoubtedly have the effect to increase the cost of living. It is absurdly untrue, on the other hand, that prices in general increase automatically with advances of tariff rates. Thus the tariff on wheat is several cents a bushel higher than formerly. But the loaf of bread would cost the consumer no more if the tariff on wheat were nominally ten dollars a bushel. This is for the obvious reason that we are already producing considerably more wheat than we consume and must export a part of it. In the case of sugar, on the other hand, the advance in rates, while it will encourage the beet-sugar industry of the United States, will increase the cost of sugar to the consumer for the simple reason that most of our sugar is imported. Thus the sugar tariff, while incidentally protective, is principally a tax levied for the benefit of the United States Treasury and added to the original cost of sugar. This tax is partly borne by the Cuban producer, and partly borne by the American consumer—the ratio depending upon the extent of the sugar crop in a given year and upon world conditions of supply and demand.

How Tariffs Affect Prices A duty of a thousand dollars a ton on steel rails would

not necessarily increase the

price of steel rails in the United States, unless we allowed the American makers of rails to create for their own benefit a price-fixing monopoly. On the other hand, a complete removal of all duties on iron and steel products would obviously have the effect of reducing prices, because of the immediate necessities of Germany and other

European industrial countries for outside markets. But if we should thus throw wide open the American market for iron and steel products to all foreign competitors, many of our own mills would either have to shut down, or else they would be obliged to reduce wages radically in order to meet the production costs of Europe. The United States Steel Corporation has just now made an advance of 20 per cent. in certain of its wage scales; but of course such rates of compensation to workers could not be maintained if protective tariffs were wiped out. We are making no argument for the particular rates imposed in the new Fordney-McCumber bill; but we are reminding our readers that there are many questions of fact involved, and that mere assertions, whether in support of such a measure or in sweeping condemnation of it, are of value only for election purposes.

The New Tariff is a Business Fact

Both Mr. Fordney and Senator McCumber are retiring from their long periods of Congressional life, as their present terms expire on the 4th of next March. They will at least have the personal satisfaction of having attached their names to a piece of legislation that will take its important place in the political and economic history of the country. If the voters should express overwhelming disapproval and elect a Democratic Congress next month, it would be accepted as an indication that public opinion will not give the Fordney-McCumber Tariff a very long lease of life. It would be expected that a Democratic victory in 1922 would be followed by a presidential victory for that party in 1924, with a downward revision of the tariff in 1925. Republican leaders will, of course, try to persuade the voters not to make an abrupt decision at this time in favor of a change of parties. The new tariff now becomes a business fact. Its provisions take effect. American business men, whether making and selling domestic wares or importing foreign goods, must adjust themselves to the new rates.

Some of its Provisions

One reason, indeed, for the pressure which has culminated in the passage of the new bill has been the dislike of uncertainty. Business men have wished to have this long pending tariff discussion ended one way or another, so that they might know how to plan ahead. They will quickly adjust

themselves to the new situation. We shall discover, after the Fordney Tariff has been in effect for a few months, just what are its chief merits and its worst defects. It will be possible to modify it from time to time in the light of experience without making another general revision a matter of immediate partisan agitation. The conferees did not accept the American valuation plan of the House bill. On the other hand, they did accept the "elasticity" provision under which the President may declare a change of rates on recommendation of the Tariff Commission. Such a decision by the President may go so far, in a particular case, as to substitute American for foreign valuation.

*National,
Not
Sectional* This arrangement tends to give new importance to the Tariff Commission; and this is desirable, because it is another step toward taking the tariff out of party politics. It is evident enough that tariff theories do not really divide men who are engaged in business. Those schedules that have been favored by certain industries have the support of Democratic as well as Republican manufacturers who happen to be engaged in the particular lines affected. Republicans

who are importers see the tariff in the same light as Democrats who are importers. In our opinion, the new Tariff bill is as full of defects as most of its predecessors. It involves almost innumerable compromises, many of which are vulnerable. On the other hand, it is not so bad as its partisan critics would have us believe, and it is not likely to affect the average citizen in any very novel or startling way. Its broad lines of policy are nationalistic, and are neither sectional nor partisan.

*Next,
the Bonus
Bill*

It was planned that Congress would either adjourn or take a long recess some days before the end of September. While the report of the tariff conferees was having its brief period of consideration in both houses before final passage, it was expected that the Bonus bill, which had already passed both houses with some differences of detail, would be ready to emerge from the conference room, after which it would be promptly passed by large majorities in both House and Senate and sent to the President. Mr. Harding's prompt acceptance of the Tariff bill was not, of course, in question. But there was a prevailing opinion that he would veto the Bonus bill. The Bonus measure had passed the Senate on the last day of August by a vote of 47 to 22.

*How the
Senators
Divided*

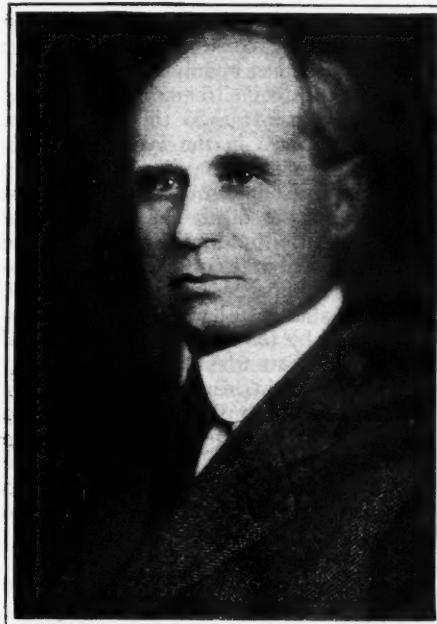
There are ninety-six Senators; and, since only sixty-nine were present to vote upon this measure of colossal importance in the financial sense, it may be well to account for the remaining twenty-seven who did not vote. First let it be said that twenty-seven Republicans and twenty Democrats voted for the bill, while fifteen Republicans and seven Democrats voted against it. Now as to those who were absent: Five Republicans and five Democrats were paired for the bill, and eight Republicans and two Democrats were paired against it. Seven Senators were absent and were not paired. Five of these were considered as favorable to the bill and two as opposed. Of these absentees, four Republicans and one Democrat were listed as favorable, while one Republican and one Democrat were opposed. This gives us a total of sixty-two Senators favoring the bill, of whom thirty-six are Republicans and twenty-six Democrats. Against the bill are thirty-four Senators, of whom twenty-four are Republicans and ten Demo-



NOTHING TO RUN ON

UNCLE SAM: "But in building the car you forgot to supply an engine."

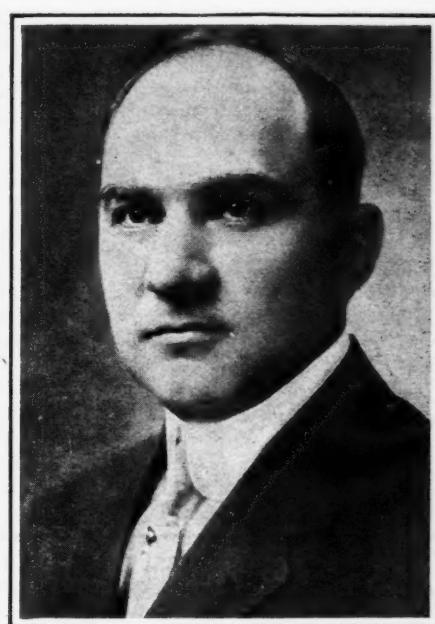
From *Forbes Magazine* (New York)



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HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD (REP.), OF INDIANA

THE RESPECTIVE HEADS OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES WORKING TO WIN CONTROL OF THE NEXT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS



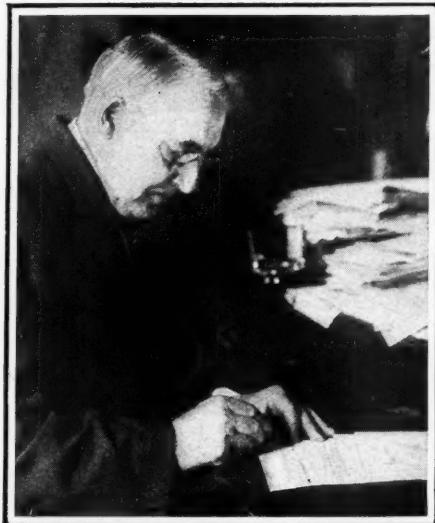
HON. ARTHUR R. ROUSE (DEM.), OF KENTUCKY

crats. If President Harding should veto the bill, the House would easily pass the measure by the requisite two-thirds majority, but it would require only thirty-three votes in the Senate to uphold the President's veto.

Mr. Harding the Final Umpire Several Senators who voted for the measure are regarded as unwilling to insist upon it as against a Presidential veto. It was therefore reasonable to believe that the decision rested in the hands of President Harding, and that if he vetoed the bill it could not be enacted into law at the present time. Senator Lodge, when the bill was on its passage, made a sentimental speech touching upon the bravery and the hardships of our boys in fierce engagements on French soil. But it would be extremely unfair to hold that Senator Lodge and the others who voted for this bill had any more sympathy with the soldiers, or any deeper desire to be of aid to them, than the Senators who felt it their duty to oppose the bill. It is not a question how the country feels towards our young men who fought in France, but a question whether or not this particular Bonus bill constitutes wise legislation. The bill itself, if it became law,

would go into effect at the beginning of next year. It limits the credit of veterans who did not go abroad to a maximum of \$500, and limits the overseas men to \$625. Their "adjusted service pay" would be reckoned at \$1 a day for home service and \$1.25 for service abroad. Because the cash is not available, the soldiers would be paid in interest-bearing certificates, upon which they could borrow money, elaborate loan provisions being made in the bill.

Financial Aspects of the Bonus As an option, vocational training aid may be obtained; and as another option it is provided that aid may be given in purchasing a farm or a home. It is estimated, however, that most service men would take the certificates. Looking ahead for a little more than twenty years to the winding-up of the obligations under the certificates, it is calculated by Treasury experts that the Government would have to pay a total approaching \$4,000,000,000. The amounts to be appropriated year by year would greatly vary. The estimate for 1923 is about \$77,000,000; but after twenty years there would remain the principal obligation, which would then



© Underwood & Underwood

PRESIDENT HARDING AT HIS DESK IN A
BUSY AND ANXIOUS SEASON

amount perhaps to over \$3,000,000,000. When it comes to relative deserts, the sums offered the ex-service men under this Bonus bill are the merest pittances. The drafted men who served as soldiers should have had at least as much compensation as the men who made munitions, built ships, and operated railroads. That the fighting army was not supported by a work army, was a matter of the bad policies and bad politics that prevailed in the war crisis. But the cruel injustice that was wrought by those unsound policies does not seem to be sufficiently atoned for by the present Bonus bill to justify the financial difficulties in which the public treasury might find itself involved.

The President Under Criticism On the fourth of September

President Harding had completed half of his second year in office. His first year was regarded as successful by the press, and by the general accord of opinion. Economies of expenditure were announced under the new budget measure. The Washington Conference, which dealt with problems of the Pacific and the Far East, brought credit and praise to the Administration. More recently President Harding has come under criticism; and his most typical qualities have been cited disparagingly, whereas they had last year been accounted so praiseworthy. Labor leaders with insulting arrogance

have denounced a President whom they found that they could not control, after they had presumed unduly upon his friendliness and good-will. They have informed the country that to show their displeasure they will proceed in the fall elections to break up President Harding's supporting majority in Congress. Certain business interests, on the other hand, have been impatient with the President because he has not suddenly arisen at some given moment in the course of the past summer and settled the strikes off-hand by sheer masterfulness, and by the resort to powers of decision and action which are not constitutionally vested in his office. Still others have criticized the President because he has not used political and personal pressure to dominate Congress and to force the Republican majority in the two houses to settle this or that question under White House dictation.

No Personal Ruler Needed Those who have criticized the President most severely for not trying to bend Congress to his will have naively assumed that the views of the President would accord with their own strong and impatient opinions as to what ought or ought not to be done. It is very fortunate, all things considered, that we have a President who does not imagine, in every moment of business depression, or of trouble in one direction or another, that it is his business by virtue of his office to take the attitude of a personal ruler with autocratic authority to settle all things for the best. There are fundamental matters in the sphere of our business life which have to be worked out by experience and which cannot be settled by the fiat of a President or of any other man. The American public must shake off its apathy, and decide for itself whether or not it will henceforth tolerate railroad strikes, and whether or not it will demand a reorganization of the coal industry. Mr. Harding has in point of fact been indefatigable in his endeavors to persuade private interests to respect their public obligations. He has not failed in his duty.

The Public Must be Aroused As we pointed out last month, it was not masterfulness on the part of any one individual that settled the Boston police strike, but an aroused public opinion that would listen to no compromises in the face of such an

outrage. The railroad strike of recent weeks has been without any justification whatever, and has been attended by many criminal acts against the innocent and long-suffering public. There can be no real settlement of a situation thus produced by mere processes of temporary adjustment between the two private interests of employing capital and of organized labor. There will be no end of the menace until the public mind is sufficiently awake to the danger that confronts the country to decide, with overwhelming force, that the stoppage of transportation by strikes will not be tolerated. This means of course that proper arrangements for adjusting questions of wages and of working conditions shall be adopted, so that what is for the public benefit will also be for the best welfare of all those who have private interests at stake in the carrying on of transportation. Mr. Harding would wholly favor such a determination of railroad troubles; but he is aware that the public must make the decision, and that the President cannot act with conclusive results until the country has clearly expressed its will and provided legal means in accordance with which he may proceed. Laws, not injunctions, are required.

Mr. Harding and His Party at the Polls It is by no means certain that

If he had opposed the bonus for reasons which nobody could have stated more persuasively than Mr. Lodge, the Republicans of Massachusetts would have renominated him not less decisively.

The Republican Case To-day As for the Tariff bill, it is simply a high protectionist measure shaped by its framers to meet post-war conditions, differing especially from former tariffs in its efforts to help stabilize agricultural prices in a period of rural difficulty that for a time had reached the stage of acute distress. When Republican Congressmen go before their constituents to debate their policies through the month of October, they will have all the better fighting position by reason of the independence that was shown in recommitting the bill on the question of the dye embargo. This action in the House did not so much reveal Republican discord as it proved the fact that Congressmen do not now feel themselves under the lash of bossism or of dictatorial leadership. When a considerable group of very able Republican Senators opposed certain tariff schedules of the Payne-Aldrich bill in the summer of 1909, they were actually subjected to political persecution, and attempts were made to read them out of the party,



GOVERNMENT IN PRACTICE VS. GOVERNMENT IN THEORY

(John Cassel, the cartoonist of the *New York Evening World* here depicts President Harding in the midst of the complicated problems that held his attention last month)



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SENATOR FREDERICK HALE, OF MAINE
(Who was reelected for another term last month)

although it was they who had shown true party sagacity.

Bossism No Longer Controls There is nothing whatever of that kind that is happening at present. No man's party standing is affected at all by his position on the tariff question, or the bonus question, or the shipping subsidy, or any other pending economic issue. He is dealing with his own conscience, and he is dealing with the people whom he represents in his district or his State. If he is seeking reelection, he can go before these people with his own record to defend, and can declare that he has done as well as he could under conditions of tremendous difficulty resulting from the world's economic dislocations following the Great War. Nobody expected that the Republican majorities of 1920 would be repeated in the autumn of 1922. But the prediction that we are about to witness a Republican *débâcle*, something like the recent defeat of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks in Asia Minor, is going farther than the shifting political tides of last month would justify.

*The Maine
Elections*

For example, there is one State that always furnishes some clear indication in advance, because Maine continues to hold its elections in September, whereas all other States now elect in November. The Maine election was held on September 11. It was characterized by unusual apathy. According to impartial reports, the Democrats made a much more extended and strenuous campaign than the Republicans. United States Senator Frederick Hale was busy in Washington, while his Democratic opponent, former-Governor Curtis, had stumped the State very thoroughly, attacking the record of Mr. Hale. It seems to have been true in a similar way that the Republican Governor, Percival P. Baxter, made few appearances, while his opponent, the well-known William R. Pattangill, of Augusta, had made a sweeping campaign. Just in advance of the election the Democrats had declared that they would carry the State by 20,000. The Republicans had claimed anywhere from 30,000 to 60,000. As it turned out, Governor Baxter was reelected by nearly 30,000 over his Democratic opponent, and Senator Hale's majority was only about 2,000 less than that of the Governor.

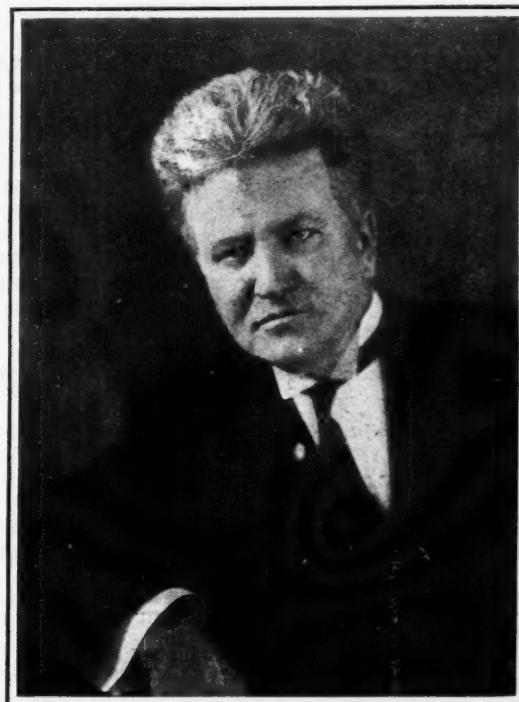
*Interpreting
the Results*

There was a great falling off in Maine's total vote as compared with 1920, and this reduction was wholly on the Republican side, the Democrats making a slight actual gain. The four present Republican Congressmen from Maine are all reelected. In the new Legislature it appears that the Democrats will have three Senators as against twenty-eight Republicans, and thirty-five members out of a total of 151 in the lower House. In the last Legislature they had only sixteen Representatives and no Senators. Several women were candidates, and one of them, Mrs. Dora B. Pinkham of Fort Kent, was elected to the lower House of the Legislature. Politicians will interpret the Maine elections as they prefer. Upon the whole, both parties would seem justified in the view that they had done as well as it was reasonable to expect. The vote two years ago was not normal. The recent vote leaves the Republicans with as strong a lead as they could fairly have counted upon. A prompt passage of the tariff measure, followed up by an opportunity for President Harding to

veto the Bonus bill, with the adjournment of Congress not much further delayed, has given full occasion for a rapid but ample October campaign; and election day, November 7, will probably register a fairly intelligent party decision at the hands of the voters.

La Follette and Wisconsin Primaries Recent primary elections have been interesting and important enough to justify the revived belief that the primary nominating system, with all its faults, will not be abandoned in the near future, in favor of a return to the old convention system. We are publishing elsewhere in this number an article upon the political career of Senator La Follette of Wisconsin which notes the fact of his remarkable success in the primaries of September 5. Mr. La Follette received more than 300,000 votes, which gave him a majority of perhaps 200,000 over his leading opponent. The La Follette State ticket won a corresponding victory, Governor Blaine being renominated. The La Follette support is now, as always heretofore, personal rather than partisan. His ticket was favored by the opponents of the Volstead Act, by those who are against the Esch-Cummins Railroad Law, by those who admire La Follette's attacks upon the pending Tariff bill and who sympathize with his radical program at large.

Michigan and the Newberry Issue In Wisconsin, the La Follette supporters made the case of Senator Newberry of Michigan an issue, Mr. La Follette having strongly opposed the seating of Mr. Newberry. Just a week later than the Wisconsin primaries, however, the State of Michigan, which had a much more direct concern with what is called "Newberryism" in politics, faced that issue directly though vicariously. Senator Townsend, who is Mr. Newberry's colleague, was a candidate for renomination. He had supported Mr. Newberry's title to the seat. There was a powerful effort in Michigan to defeat Mr. Townsend by way of showing disapproval of the action of the Senate in sustaining Mr. Newberry's claims. But there were three fairly strong Republi-



© Edmonston
HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SENATOR
FROM WISCONSIN

can contestants in the primaries besides the incumbent. Senator Townsend secured his renomination by a plurality of about 25,000 over the foremost of his three opponents. If Republican opinion in Michigan had been very firmly disposed to recall Townsend because it could not reach Newberry in person, the votes would have been concentrated upon one candidate. Mr. Townsend has the reputation of a valuable Senator, and it merely suffices to say that the Newberry issue has not thus far side-tracked him. A further opportunity to dispose of Senator Townsend will occur on election day, when those Michigan voters who believe that "Newberryism" is the real issue can vote for the Democratic candidate. This Democratic leader is no other than the popular former Governor, Woodbridge N. Ferris, who will undoubtedly make as good a run against Mr. Townsend as facts and circumstances could admit. The threatened closing of the Ford Automobile Works at Detroit, on account of fuel shortage, was regarded as having some bearing upon Michigan politics.



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SENATOR CHARLES E. TOWNSEND,
OF MICHIGAN

Who was renominated in the Republican primaries
last month)

California and Hiram Johnson The California primaries occurred on August 29. The country at large was watching with interest the contest between the two Republican factions. Just as in Wisconsin the issue always is for or against LaFollette, so in California the issue is for or against Hiram Johnson. The opponents of Johnson had gained the reluctant consent of a distinguished citizen, Mr. Charles C. Moore, who was not a politician, to enter the race for United States Senator. The vote for Johnson was not as decisive as some of his former victories, and very much less sweeping than the success of LaFollette. The total vote was well above half a million, and Johnson's majority was, in round figures, 70,000. The Johnson vote was about 300,000 and the Moore vote about 230,000. Mr. Moore carried Los Angeles rather decisively against Johnson, while in turn Johnson carried San Francisco even more decisively against Moore. Johnson's Democratic opponent in next month's election will be Mr. W. K. Pearson, of Los Angeles. Just following the primaries, the anti-Johnson committee declared that the "boasted claims" of John-

son's managers of 175,000 majority had fallen away, and that "the Johnson machine had been broken in a short campaign by a man who had never before made a political fight." The supporters of the President and of Secretaries Hughes and Hoover could not be expected to have rallied very strongly around the banner of Mr. Johnson when they had an opportunity to vote for Mr. Moore. Yet, all things considered, Hiram Johnson has won a definite victory that points to his reelection in November.

From Puget Sound to Cape Cod

The contest in the State of Washington resulted on September 12 in the renomination of Senator Miles Poindexter, whose plurality over his closest competitor in a field of six candidates was not impressively large. We have already alluded to Senator Lodge's striking success in Massachusetts as against a highly respected competitor, Hon. Joseph Walker. In the November election, Mr. Lodge will face as his Democratic opponent William A. Gaston, the Boston banker. Governor Cox was renominated by the Republicans for his present office. Vermont primaries also occurred on the twelfth, and Frank L. Greene was nominated for the United States Senate in place of Hon. Carroll S. Page, who will retire next March at the age of eighty—after fourteen years in the Senate. The nomination for Governor was won by Mr. Redfield Proctor, a son of the former United States Senator of the same name. On the following day, September 13, the Connecticut Republicans held a State convention and renominated United States Senator Charles P. McLean by acclamation. The present Lieutenant Governor, C. A. Templeton, was also acclaimed the candidate for Governor, and Professor William Bingham of Yale was named for Lieutenant-Governor.

Maryland Takes the Primaries Seriously

The contest in the Maryland primaries of September 12 was one of exceptional vigor. Like the earlier primaries in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Missouri, and the more recent ones in Ohio, California, Wisconsin, and Michigan, this Maryland contest illustrated the fact that the primary is obtaining too firm a hold upon our political methods to be discarded in the near future. Senator Joseph I. France, of Maryland, who is com-

pling his first term, is a gentlemen of wealth whose course in politics is that of a conspicuously self-directed mentality. While nominally a Republican, Mr. France has been almost as little in harmony with his party's attitudes and policies as Mr. La Follette himself. In June a good many leading Republicans of Maryland met in a conference at Frederick in order to express their disapproval of Mr. France, and to find a candidate to run against him in the primaries. They selected Mr. John W. Garrett, a wealthy Baltimorean banker who has had diplomatic experience and who was secretary of the international conference at Washington on naval disarmament and problems of the Pacific. Mr. France had opposed the Five Power treaty, while Mr. Garrett is an exponent of the Hughes-Harding policies. Mr. France had also made a journey to Soviet Russia and had been regarded as too friendly an apologist for the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, Mr. France has secured his renomination on his sole issue of "Americanism," largely with the help of organized labor. Against him in the electoral campaign will be Mr. William Cabell Bruce, who won the Democratic nomination over a strong competitor, Mr. W. I. Norris. All leading candidates in Maryland seem to have favored modification of the Volstead Act.

Hardwick and Blease Defeated As our readers well know, the primaries in the States farther south are more important than the elections, because the real contests are within the Democratic Party. In several of the Southern States, factionalism is strong, and politics plays about the fortunes of certain ambitious individuals. Thus in Georgia the contest turned upon the candidacy of Governor Hardwick for another term. While in the United States Senate, Mr. Hardwick had been far from orthodox in the estimation of President Wilson, and at odds with the Democratic Senate leaders. He had aspired ultimately to return to the Senate, but he has now been sweepingly defeated. Hon. Clifford L. Walker, therefore, will be the next Governor of Georgia. Mr. Hardwick had not only to encounter the opposition of those who followed President Wilson's leadership, but in last month's fight he found his former ally Senator Tom Watson against him, and was also opposed by the Ku Klux Klan, which, as Governor, he has been trying to



SENATOR JOSEPH I. FRANCE, OF MARYLAND
(Who secured renomination last month)

unmask in its illegal methods and activities. In South Carolina, the fight to defeat Cole L. Blease was successful on September 12. In an earlier primary, Blease had led over several opponents in the contest for Governor; but in the second, or so-called "run-off" primary, Blease's opponents concentrated their support upon Thomas G. McLeod, whose victory is regarded as a triumph for the best elements of South Carolina's citizenship.

"Run-offs" in Texas and Mississippi The United States Senate will greatly miss John Sharp Williams when he retires from politics on the fourth of March. The contest in Mississippi for his seat at Washington has been an intense one, with ex-Senator Vardaman at the center of it. Mr. Vardaman's principal opponent was Congressman Hubert D. Stephens. In an earlier primary, Vardaman led Stephens by more than 8,000 votes, Miss Belle Kearney polling more than 18,000. In the second primary, on September 5, Miss Kearney's support had apparently gone to Stephens, whose success over Vardaman was duly proclaimed. In Texas, as was noted in these pages last month, Senator Culberson was defeated for renomination, two opponents running ahead of him. A second



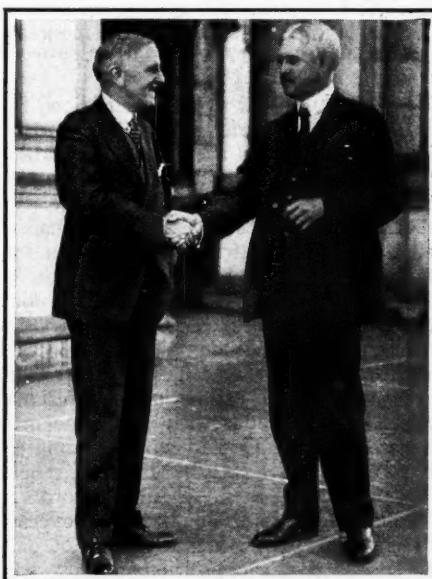
HON. EARLE B. MAYFIELD, OF TEXAS
(Final victor in the Democratic contests for nomination to the United States Senate)

primary on August 26 between these two leading candidates resulted in the victory of Earle B. Mayfield over James E. Ferguson. Mr. Mayfield will accordingly be the next Senator. He had the endorsement of the Anti-Saloon League and is generally credited with having been the candidate of the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Mayfield has been regarded as a man of high personal standing.

State and Local Activity

Besides Federal activities in relation to the coal strike, the governments of a number of States have taken official action of one kind or another. Thus, in New York, Governor Nathan L. Miller called a special session of the legislature which promptly accepted his recommendations and provided for a coal administrator with a good deal of power to regulate the distribution of coal, so that the shortage might not result in extreme hardship to any portion of the State or any element of the population. The Governor of Ohio also called a special session in the second week of September, and he was given emergency powers and authorized to appoint a Fuel Administrator, provision also being made for fixing the

prices of coal to prevent profiteering. Speaking generally, the country has been recovering from depressed business conditions; unemployment has been chiefly limited to groups of strikers. American cities are resuming work upon public improvements which was suspended during the war period. The building boom continues, and the coming year will witness the completion of new homes for millions of people besides many thousands of industrial and business structures. As typical of the projects that our splendid cities are now bold enough to undertake, we are publishing an article in this number upon the great tunnel that the city of Denver is to construct in order to put Denver on a direct transcontinental railroad route. The tunnel project is also to bring water to Denver from the western slopes, and to serve other engineering purposes. Mr. Wayne Williams' article will be found to be one of entrancing interest as it points out the possibilities of material development that may turn upon a single project. Mr. Ford's proposals for developing great nitrogen factories at Muscle Shoals have not yet secured approval at Washington.



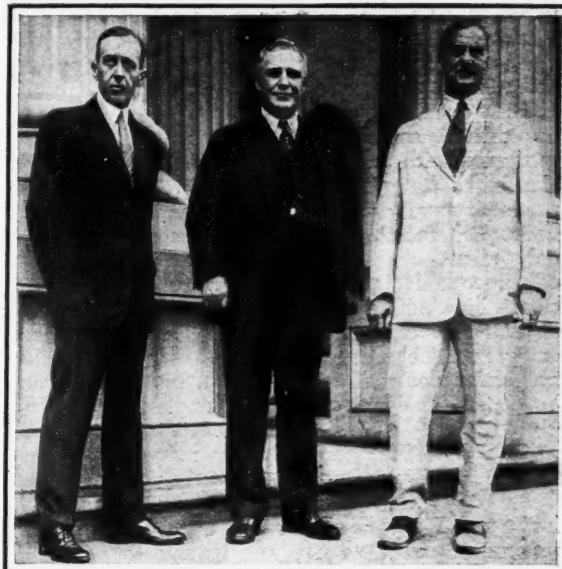
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GOVERNOR MILLER (right) AND THE NEW YORK FUEL ADMINISTRATOR

(With almost unlimited powers, Mr. William H. Woodin, president of the American Car and Foundry Company, has set out to see that public utilities, industries, and householders get a fair deal during the coal shortage)

The Coal Miners Return to Work After piecemeal agreements with the operators, the miners of soft coal straggled back to work during the last two weeks of August, and by the 1st of September production had reached a very high point—something like 9,500,000 tons a week, or about 25 per cent. more than the country's normal consumption. Thus, the problem of obtaining sufficient bituminous coal (at a price) for the country's industrial needs was reduced to the one question whether the railroads would be able to supply sufficient cars to carry the fuel. After the five-months' strike, the figures of the Geological Survey showed that the total output of bituminous coal up to September 1 of this year was some 30,000,000 tons less than the production in the corresponding period of 1921. It must be remembered, however, that the country has been actively eating into the reserve stock of coal, estimated at 50,000,000 tons when the strike began, and that there is at present probably not more than 5,000,000 tons of reserve on hand. The true deficiency due to the strike is, therefore, nearer 75,000,000 tons.

The Anthracite Agreement Later It was a fortnight later that a compromise peace agreement was obtained in the anthracite fields, largely through the efforts of Senators Pepper and Reed of Pennsylvania. On September 11, the anthracite mines reopened with all of the 155,000 miners who could be rounded up, back at work. It was expected that the anthracite mines would be slower to reach normal production than the soft-coal fields. Fuel was immediately rushed to the points in most need of it, and cars actually arrived at New York on the day following the opening of the mines. With the prospect of getting coal for the furnace, after all, this winter, the average citizen's mind turned to the question of cost, and the first indications were that the price of hard coal would be about one dollar a ton more than last year. It was explained from the operators' side that such



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PENNSYLVANIA'S GOVERNOR AND UNITED STATES SENATORS WHO WERE ACTIVE IN SETTLING THE ANTHRACITE STRIKE

(From left to right, are: David A. Reed, recently appointed Senator to fill a vacancy; Governor William C. Sproul and Senator George Wharton Pepper)

an increase was justified to absorb the cost of maintaining and pumping out the mines through the five months of idleness. This cost was estimated for all the mines at \$18,000,000, and was an item of "overhead," of course, that came during a period of practically no sales and shipments at all.

British Coal Helps Out Secretary of Commerce Hoover, in conference with fuel administrators of many States, has planned carefully the distribution of every ton of newly mined anthracite. Mr. Hoover is confident that the American householder will be protected and that he will get enough coal to carry him through the winter without serious discomfort. Some very essential industries, such as the New York City subway, were kept going with the aid of coal shipped from Great Britain, which, with the prevailing surplus of shipping and the lower wages in the British mines, could be delivered at New York at the beginning of our strike at a cost of about \$7 a ton. With the sudden emergency demand, this cost rose \$2 or \$3 a ton later on. Although the British miners' earnings are very much less than those of our own men, the surface men receiving only \$8 or \$9

per week, as a minimum, while the actual miners get \$16 to \$18 a week (with both classes getting the benefit of any profitable operation of the mines), the costs to the English operator are increased by the extraordinarily small production per man as compared with the American mines. In the United States, the average mine worker produces more than 700 tons yearly. In Great Britain, the output per worker is only about 223 tons. This astonishing difference is due chiefly to the greater use of machine mining in the United States, about 43 per cent. of our total production being machine mined, while the British proportion varies from 2 per cent. in the Welsh fields to 25 per cent. in Scotland.

The Peace Terms There were only two reassuring features in the terms of peace in the coal mining industry. First, the miners actually began to produce coal; and this had become so imperatively necessary that it was probably well to start up the mines even under a truce, rather than a real peace. Second, the temporary agreement included the acquiescence of Mr. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, in a recommendation to Congress for legislation which will provide for a commission to investigate the industry and report on the facts. Aside from these two matters, the public must look on the results of the struggle with a wry face. The men returned to work at the war-time scale of wages which they had demanded five months before. This scale is to hold until April 1, 1923, when the whole controversy will again be thrown open. The one hope is that when the new break comes, there will be such a body of facts regarding the mining situation before the eyes of the public, provided by the newly established commission, as will enable the Government and the people to make a final and decisive stand. In the meantime, the recent settlement is being trumpeted as a great victory of the miners over the operators. It would be much truer to characterize it as a mere truce in a struggle that went against the American public, as practically all the penalties and losses will be paid by the people at large.

The President's Unavailing Efforts President Harding's solicitous efforts to settle the strike earlier and on terms which would have commended themselves very

fully to the United States were without result, chiefly because of the union's refusal to accept arbitration. Criticism referring to the President's course and its failure to achieve results is, however, scarcely in order. The coal-mining industry in the United States is too thoroughly unbalanced and diseased to allow any happy thought or inventiveness on the part of the Chief Executive to straighten things out over night. Nothing less than thorough reorganization of the coal trade will prevent the costly and disgraceful periodic warfare. The new National Coal Commission is, in Mr. Hoover's view, the first step toward reaching a final solution of the coal problem. Mr. Hoover sees two kinds of trouble which must be remedied before the coal industry in the United States can be called decent and orderly: first, relationships between employer and employee; second, the lack of economic organization of the industry. Certainly collective bargaining has failed this summer, and as to the economics of the situation, the figures show that the bituminous mines are putting forth 300,000,000 tons more coal for the year than the country



JUDGE JAMES H. WILKERSON OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT AT CHICAGO
(Who granted the injunction sought by the Attorney-General, restraining striking shopmen from interfering with the operation of railroads)



ATTORNEY-GENERAL DAUGHERTY AND HIS ASSISTANTS IN THE GOVERNMENT'S INJUNCTION PROCEEDINGS AGAINST RAILROAD STRIKERS

(Mr. Daugherty is seated in the center. At the left is J. W. H. Crum, Assistant Attorney-General, while at the right is James A. Fowler, special assistant. Standing is Chester J. MacGuire, Mr. Daugherty's secretary.)

needs, with labor unemployed much of the time and operators fluctuating between high profits and bankruptcy.

The Railroad Strike In the middle of September, the strike of the railroad shopmen seemed to be breaking up.

It was announced on the 14th that about one-fourth of the 200 roads were about to make separate peace with their men, 200,000 in all, on terms that included the lower wage scale, no direct mention of seniority, arbitration provisions for miscellaneous questions, and prompt employment of all strikers not proved guilty of violence. The bitterness of the unions had been greatly increased by the sweeping Federal injunction issued in Chicago on September 1. Attorney-General Daugherty obtained in this temporary restraining order the most rigorous terms that had ever been used in an injunction. Its wording enumerated every conceivable act on the part of the strikers which could in any way interfere with the operation of the transportation lines of the country. The severity of the terms of the injunction brought scathing protests from labor leaders, Mr. Gompers and others publicly threatening a general strike of all

union labor. Quite outside of labor and radical circles, there was much criticism of Mr. Daugherty's move. It was said in many quarters that his general summing-up of the situation in defense of his action in the matter of the injunction was that of the alarmist, and that there was nothing to show that the strike had produced a crisis in which the question was whether the Government or labor unions should rule the United States. In the later court proceedings in Chicago, when the unions attacked the restraining order, the Government attempting to have it made permanent, Mr. Daugherty produced a vast array of evidence to support his contention that in their bitter determination to win the strike, the railroad shopmen had entered into a veritable conspiracy to break down the transportation service without which the nation could not function.

A Poorly Managed Episode The whole episode was not stage-managed by the Government with the utmost success. Many thoughtful people had taken offense at the unexampled severity of the court order while the Attorney-General's words of warning as to the situation were yet too

vague and general to be convincing; and his impressive accumulation of evidence brought forward later on to support his contentions, came some ten days after an unfortunate impression had been produced. The move had obviously two main purposes, both of them laudable. It was to insist on maintaining the movement of freight, passengers, and the mails; and it was to make sure that any worker who wanted to seek employment with the roads or retain it should not be prevented from doing so. In mid-September, the shop forces of the railroads were being gradually raised toward their usual numbers, the railroad executives claiming that already they were 80 per cent. normal. The effect of the strike on the efficiency of the roads was, however, very apparent, especially in the matter of defective locomotives. It was authoritatively estimated that one-third of the locomotives in use needed repairs, and 15 per cent. of the freight cars.

Incomes and Profits Fall Off The effect of the financial depression which began in the autumn of 1920 on the

incomes and profits of the American people is strikingly shown in the recently published report of the Commission of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922. The total collections from income and profit taxes that year were only \$2,088,000,000 as compared with \$3,228,000,000 in 1920-1921. The current year should see a still further falling off, as with the beginning of the calendar year of 1922 the highest surtax rate was reduced from 65 per cent. to 50 per cent., while the excess-profits tax on corporations was done away with altogether, a straight normal tax of 12½ per cent. on profits being substituted. This falling-away of the returns from these schedules is a matter of serious moment in our taxing plan. Collections on these two items for 1920, for instance, amounted to \$3,570,000,000 and this sum was nearly two-thirds of the year's entire tax receipts. In fact, ever since the law of 1916, income taxes have been overwhelmingly the most important source of the national revenues. It might be suspected that this continued shrinkage was largely due to increasing success on the part of people with large incomes in avoiding taxation through investment in exempt securities, and of course this has had its effect; but that it is not the chief cause is suggested by the fact that

corporation profits have fallen off even faster than taxable personal incomes and also by such details as the loss in South Carolina of 63 per cent., nearly twice as much as in New York State, whereas South Carolina has, as compared with New York, scarcely any appreciable number of the investing class commonly supposed to avoid taxes through the wholesale purchase of exempt securities.

The Rates Are Too High

It seems to be an immutable law of Government operations that taxation rates set at too high a figure produce less and less revenue as the years go by. Our personal income rates reached their climax in the law of 1918, with a normal tax at 12 per cent. and surtaxes ranging up to 65 per cent. on incomes above one million dollars. Since the first year of extraordinarily high rates, the collections of actual tax money from these sources have steadily decreased. It will be remembered that we began to levy personal income taxes in 1913 with a 1 per cent. normal tax and graded surtaxes on incomes above \$20,000, the highest rate being 6 per cent. on incomes above \$500,000. In 1916, only 437,000 returns of personal incomes were filed, while in 1920, with the lowering of the exempt income, more than 7,200,000 returns were made. The average rate of tax in 1916 was only 2.75 per cent., while the highest average came in 1918 with 7.8 per cent. Since that year, the heavy increase in the number of small taxpayers and the falling off of the great incomes, together with the reduction of the normal rate, have brought down the average rate to 4.53 per cent. in 1920. The forecast for the current fiscal year indicates quite a heavy deficit, and the falling off of collections from the two main sources of national revenue, becomes a matter of real concern.

Ships at Wholesale

One of the most remarkable events in the history of maritime affairs was the sale at auction by the United States Government on September 12 of 226 ocean freighters built of wood in the war period. Ever since the close of the war, the Government has been anxious to find private purchasers for this portion of our war-time emergency shipping; but there has been no demand. The average cost of these ships was about \$700,000 each. The whole 226 were sold to a single purchaser for \$750,000, a sum

less than the cost of some of the individual vessels. It seems almost incredible that we should have spent approximately \$1,000,000 apiece for a good many ships which, while still new, could not be sold for as much as \$4,000 apiece. Two hundred and eleven of the ships were lying in the James River at Claremont, Virginia, and fifteen were on the Texas coast. These vessels are not to be thrown into ocean competition, and are to be dismantled as steamships—this being a part of the bargain. This rather pitiful end of our great war experiment of wooden steamships merely illustrates—in what is after all a minor detail—the awful wastefulness of war on the material side, even when conducted by our most famous business executives as dollar-a-year recruits at Washington.

Supporting Our Merchant Marine President Harding had set his heart upon the passage by Congress before adjournment

of the pending Shipping bill, with its provision for subsidies. But finally the President receded from his earlier insistence that the Administration Ship Subsidy bill must be taken up and passed, along with the Tariff bill, before adjournment. The measure is by no means dead, however, nor even moribund. It is definitely slated for prompt passage by a large vote in the House in November, if Congress meets again before the regular term which opens on the first Monday of December. In many quarters it has been hinted that foreign shipping interests have been active in objectionable ways in trying to interfere with Administration plans for making a success of the American Merchant Marine. It has been charged that a "silent war" is being waged by rival interests against American shipping. The closing of the United States Consulate at Newcastle-on-Tyne is treated as one of various incidents growing out of this rivalry. Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board has recently stated that the Atlantic passenger trade, now chiefly in the hands of foreign steamship lines, is in the near future to be entered by several American ships even larger and faster than existing "leviathans."

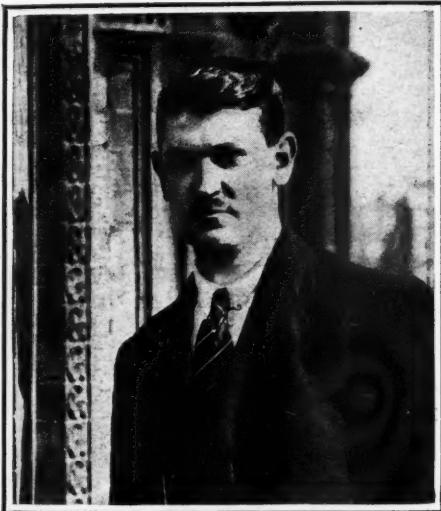
America in East and West The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Denby, has returned from a visit to the Far East, and brings cheering news, particularly from Japan. It will be a good while before the



HON. EDWIN C. DENBY, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, WITH MRS. DENBY

(Entering the Golden Gate at San Francisco on returning last month from his trip to the Far East)

major problems of Asia, viewed as international politics, can be measurably settled. But it is highly gratifying to be assured by so competent an observer as Mr. Denby that the sentiment of the common people of Japan is thoroughly friendly to the United States, and that the good effects of the Washington Conference are visible not only in Japan but throughout the Far East and the regions of the Pacific. We are publishing an article this month which sets forth the facts regarding the efforts of the United States Government to assist Nicaragua and to serve the best interests of that Central American Republic. This is one of a series of articles we have been publishing from time to time to set forth the truth in defense of the beneficent efforts of the United States to befriend the peoples who live in the vicinity of the Caribbean Sea, whether on islands or on the mainland, and whose prosperity and stability are so greatly dependent upon the policies of the United States. Harmony in the Western Hemisphere has been steadily advanced in a variety of ways since the accession of President Harding and Secretary Hughes. We recorded last month the notable agreement reached by Chile and Peru to submit their



THE LATE MICHAEL COLLINS

(Leader of the Irish Free State, who was ambushed and killed on August 22)

differences to American arbitration. We are publishing in this number a series of attractive Brazilian pictures, which derive timeliness from the Brazilian Centennial and from the visit of Secretary Hughes to the capital of our great sister Republic of the South.

*Ireland's
Griefs and
Hopes*

In our last number we noted the lamented death of Mr. Arthur Griffith, who had taken the foremost part in the constructive political work that is resulting in the Irish Free State. His leading colleague and successor in authority and influence was Michael Collins. With his youth and vigor, Collins seemed likely to have a great part to play in the future not only of Ireland but of the British Empire. He was rapidly suppressing de Valera's futile rebellion. With the atmosphere almost clear, and with the people of Ireland almost unanimous for the Free State, Michael Collins was ambushed and murdered. Fortunately Griffith and Collins had negotiated the treaty at London and had virtually completed its acceptance in Ireland. Their work is not going to be in vain. Leaders who are trusted and competent have already been chosen. Collins was killed August 22. On September 9, the members of the new Irish Parliament assembled at Leinster House in Dublin, and showed

themselves capable of meeting the crisis. William T. Cosgrave, who was Minister of Local Government, was elected President of the Dail Eireann and stated the situation with convincing force. A full ministry was promptly chosen. General Richard Mulcahy was made Minister of Defense. It is generally believed that Mr. Cosgrave and his associates will soon end the guerrilla fighting, and firmly establish the new Irish Constitution. An excellent and trustworthy view of the situation was presented by the Rt. Rev. William Turner, Catholic Bishop of Buffalo, on his return in September from two months spent in Ireland. He declared that the Free State Government, if an election were held, would win 99 per cent. of the total vote. He remarked that the British had been most patient with Ireland, and that the understanding between England and Ireland was never so good as it is to-day.

*Recovery
Proceeds in
Europe*

There are times when the best service any country can render the world is to attend to its own affairs with diligence and skill. European peoples and Governments are aware of this fact, and are steadily working out of their post-war difficulties. It would of course be desirable if public debts were cancelled, and if currencies were put on a sound basis. But if people are actually at work rather than at war, and if a kindly Providence gives good crops and normal weather, the populations of civilized States may do quite well, regardless of the nominal insolvencies of their public treasuries. It is now nearly four years since the war ended, and the reparations question continues to be a cause of discord.



WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE

(Who has succeeded Arthur Griffith as President of the Irish Parliament at Dublin)



A VIEW OF THE CITY AND HARBOR OF SMYRNA ON THE TURKISH COAST

(Which had been held by Greece since the Armistice, and which was taken by the Turkish Nationalists in the second week of September under the leadership of Kemal Pasha. Much of the city was destroyed by fire, and Turkish victories were accompanied by massacres of the native Greek population)

It is true that adequate indemnities called for much more than the restoration of damaged property; but it would at least have gone some ways toward the establishment of European peace if, quite apart from cash payments, the Germans had been compelled to supply materials and workmen on a vast scale with a view to restoring cities and towns, lands and farms, railroads and bridges, mines and factories, as rapidly as possible. Peace industries and work armies should have been made to restore what war industries and fighting armies had devastated. The larger phases of European news are well covered in our present issue by Mr. Simonds, whose survey sweeps from the troubles of Western Europe to the sensational happenings in Asia Minor, where the Turks have crushed the armies of Greece and destroyed the hopes of the Hellenic imperialists. Disarmament halts in view of these critical conditions, while plain people work and long for stable peace.

*Opening of
The Public
Schools* Any intelligent person, traveling rapidly across the United States in early September, and reading newspapers of towns and cities through which he passed, would have discovered that the great news event of the month was not the action of Congress in deciding upon a new tariff, or upon the soldiers' bonus, nor yet the settlement of

the coal strike, nor the railroad troubles. These four topics, indeed, affected the entire country, as did the approach of local and national elections. But overshadowing all these in absorbing interest was the opening of the American public schools for a new year. In all our cities, school taxes are increasing; but the public bears the burden cheerfully because the schools are believed to lie at the very root of our national safety and honor. We shall preserve America through making good Americans out of the material offered by the rising generation. Never have the teachers been so conscious of this fact as they are to-day. The schools grow better in their educational methods, quite as steadily as they advance in their material facilities and equipment. The children go to school better clad and in better physical condition than in previous years. Furthermore, it is recognized now as never before that the health and physical welfare of the children are as much a part of the concern of the schools as their lessons from books. The crisis in respect to the teaching profession that was so severely felt two or three years ago is happily past. Average salaries have been increased, while the cost of living for teachers has been receding. Many who abandoned the teaching work have returned to it; and those who remained faithful are not sorry. Teaching

is our foremost profession, and schools are the center of public interest.



DR. CHARLES F. THWING, PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, CLEVELAND, WHO WAS CHOSEN LAST MONTH AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED CHAPTERS OF PHI BETA KAPPA

(Dr. Thwing, who is widely known in the educational world, has recently retired from the headship of the University at Cleveland after more than thirty years of service. His latest book, now in press, is the result of a visit to Australia and New Zealand)

Pursuit of Higher Education Not only are the free public schools making progress, in cities and in country districts alike, but the so-called higher education in the United States also moves forward with many encouraging signs. Summer sessions under the direction of leading universities and colleges have had record-breaking attendances. Freshmen classes are larger than ever, as graduates of high schools enter upon collegiate courses. Agencies for the encouragement of science and learning are better supported than ever before. Professional and technical education is making remarkable advances. One indication of the quickened zeal for high standards of scholarship in American life was given last month in the meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, of the triennial council of the fraternity known as Phi Beta Kappa. This is not a secret order, but it is the oldest of the American Greek letter societies, and it stands purely for scholarly attainment in the colleges and universities. It began at

old William and Mary College in Virginia in 1776, and its next chapter was established at Harvard. Forty years ago there were comparatively few chapters, most of them east of the Alleghenies. At that time a general organization called United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa was formed, with a general president and secretary and a group of twenty Senators.

Phi Beta Kappa Becomes Active New chapters have been granted from time to time until

there are now ninety-nine of them, six of which were granted by action of the triennial council which met last month. At Cleveland, Phi Beta Kappa was the guest of Western Reserve University, whose chapter—much the oldest west of the Alleghenies—has just now celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. President Edward A. Birge, of the University of Wisconsin, declined re-election as general president of Phi Beta Kappa, and this honor was conferred upon the retiring president of Western Reserve University, Dr. Charles F. Thwing. It is not the intention of Phi Beta Kappa to take any assertive steps or to change its traditional character; but it hopes to do a more active work than heretofore in the encouragement of high scholarship in our colleges, and it will give greater emphasis in future to the national character of the society. It is hoped that when the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of this fraternity is observed four years hence, a fund will have been completed for a Phi Beta Kappa memorial building at William and Mary College.

International Amenities It is perhaps to be regretted that international journalism since the Great War has become so familiar and so acute. Almost any American may now achieve a prominent place upon the front page of newspapers who will take a vacation trip abroad and proceed to make remarks upon foreign conditions. Any European may become prominent in the press who makes a disparaging remark about some country not his own, particularly about the United States. We have a few observers and students of conditions who give us real information; and this is not to be ignored. But the casual lucubrations of fault-finders, whether Americans or Europeans, are not serving any useful purpose, and the newspapers ought not to give them prominence.



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PRESIDENT HARDING DELIVERING HIS SPECIAL STRIKE MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON AUGUST 18

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From August 15 to September 15, 1922)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 18.—President Harding delivers a special message to a joint session of Congress, condemning lawlessness arising from the coal and railroad strikes and declaring that he is resolved to use all the power of the Government to maintain transportation and sustain the right of men to work; he requests legislation empowering the Government to act in such emergencies.

August 19.—In the Senate, the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill is passed by vote of 48 to 25; one Republican votes against and three Democrats for the bill, which Republican leaders contend will increase customs revenues \$70,000,000, to a total of \$403,000,000 annually. . . . The bill goes to conference committee of both branches to adjust differences in rates and provisions for foreign valuation, foreign trade-zones, and so-called "flexibility."

August 21.—The House passes the Administration bill for a commission to investigate the coal industry; the vote is 219 to 55; an amendment to have the commission composed solely of operators and miners is defeated.

August 29.—In the Senate, two amendments are adopted to the Bonus Bill; one appropriates \$350,000,000 to reclaim arid and swamp lands, and the other appropriates interest from foreign debts to bonus payments.

August 31.—The Senate (voting 47 to 22) adopts the Bonus bill, giving "adjusted service pay," etc., to veterans of the World War; 27 Republicans and 20 Democrats vote for the measure, while 15 Republicans and 7 Democrats vote against it.

September 2.—In the Senate, a Corrupt Prac-

tices Bill is passed, making it illegal for any Senatorial candidate to spend more than \$10,000 or any House candidate over \$5000 in a general election; the measure is an aftermath of the Newberry case.

September 7.—The Senate, voting 40 to 7, passes the Coal Distribution and Price Control Bill urged by the Administration.

September 8.—In the Senate, the Borah fact-finding Coal Commission Bill is passed; it is intended to determine costs and conditions in coal fields.

September 9.—The Tariff Conference Committee decides to eliminate the free tariff zone provision, with the House American valuation plan—which, however, may be resorted to by the President under the "flexible tariff" arrangement; wool, sugar, wheat, and dye rates are higher than the House bill.

September 10.—The Tariff conferees arrange to continue the dye embargo a year after the new tariff takes effect, and another year after that if proclaimed by the President.

September 11.—The Bonus conferees discard the Senate's \$350,000,000 land reclamation amendment, together with the provision for payment of the adjusted service compensation from interest on foreign debt.

September 13.—The House rejects the conference report on the tariff bill, instructing its conferees by vote of 177 to 130 to eliminate the embargo on dyes and the duty on potash, both provisions having been written into the measure while in conference committee.

September 14.—The Tariff conferees vote to abandon the dye embargo and remove the \$30-a-ton duty on potash.

The House adopts the conference report on the

Bonus bill without roll call (with elimination of reclamation features and the proposal to pay out of foreign-loan receipts).

September 15.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Soldier Bonus bill by a vote of 36 to 17; 24 Republicans and 12 Democrats are for, and 12 Republicans and 5 Democrats against, the measure, which goes to the President.

The House adopts the conference report on the Tariff bill, voting 210 to 90, with 14 Republicans opposed and 5 Democrats in favor. . . . The report is introduced in the Senate.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 18.—In Wyoming, it is announced that John W. Hay won the Republican gubernatorial nomination in the primaries of August 8.

August 19.—Johnstown, Pa., enjoys a short period of plenteous "real beer and ale" under an ambiguous or misinterpreted proclamation by the Mayor because of impure city drinking water.

August 28.—Governor E. Mont Reily, of Porto Rico, appoints Ramon Aboy, Jr., as Insular Treasurer, succeeding José E. Benedicto; E. J. Saldana as Executive Secretary, replacing R. Slaca Paoheco; and Sam D. Edick as Commissioner of Elections in place of E. W. Keith.

In Texas, the second Democratic primary results in nomination of Earle B. Mayfield for Senator.

August 29.—In California, Republicans renominate Hiram Johnson for United States Senator by 70,000 plurality in a primary vote totaling 530,000; State Treasurer Friend W. Richardson defeats William D. Stephens, incumbent, for Governor; W. K. Pearson (Dem.) and Upton Sinclair (Soc.) will oppose Senator Johnson, and Thomas Lee Woolwine is Democratic nominee for Governor.

Governor Miller signs a bill passed unanimously by the New York legislature in special session; it vests dictatorial powers in a State Fuel Administrator during the emergency.

The Democratic State convention in Delaware names Thomas F. Bayard for United States Senator. . . . In Montana primaries, Republicans nominate Representative Carl W. Riddick for United States Senator; Democrats nominate Burton K. Wheeler.

August 31.—The Federal Trade Commission charges that the proposed Midvale-Republic-Inland steel merger is an unfair method of competition under Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission act; Attorney-General Daugherty had, on July 21, issued an opinion stating the merger was legal under the Clayton act and the Sherman Anti-trust law.

September 5.—In Mississippi, Senator James K. Vardaman (Dem.) loses his primary fight to Hubert Stephens. . . . In Nevada, on a light primary vote, James G. Shrumham (Dem.) is named for Governor and Senator Key Pittman (Dem.) is renominated. . . . In New Hampshire, Winsor H. Goodnow is chosen for Governor in the Republican primary, while Democrats name Fred H. Brown. . . . In Wisconsin, Senator Robert M. La Follette wins the Republican primary renomination by an unprecedented plurality, and sweeps his whole ticket, including Governor Blaine, to victory (see page 398); the Democrats endorse Mrs. Jessie J. Hooper for Senator.

September 6.—George Sutherland, of Utah, former United States Senator, is appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, to succeed John H. H. Clarke, resigned.

September 7.—The Anthracite Advisory Committee is appointed, consisting of Samuel D. Wariner, W. L. Connell, W. J. Richards, Alan C. Dodson, W. H. Williamson, E. W. Parker, John F. Bermingham, and W. D. B. Ainey, chairman of the Pennsylvania Fuel Commission.

Senator Walsh of Massachusetts is chosen to direct the national Democratic Senatorial campaign.

September 9.—The Railroad Labor Board decides that six different railroads must stop farming out shopwork to outside contractors and must run their own repair shops.

September 11.—In Maine elections, Senator Frederick Hale and Governor Percival P. Baxter are reelected by a normal Republican majority vote of about 30,000. . . . In the Maryland primaries, Senator Joseph I. France wins Republican renomination, with William Cabel Bruce as Democratic Senatorial nominee.

September 12.—Senator Lodge and Governor Cox are renominated with large pluralities in the Massachusetts Republican primary; the successful Democrats are William A. Gaston for Senator and John F. Fitzgerald for Governor. . . . Senators Townsend (Rep., Mich.) and Poindexter (Rep., Wash.) are renominated in State primaries. . . . In Vermont, Redfield Proctor is nominated for Governor and Cong. Frank L. Greene for United States Senator by Republicans in primary. . . . In South Carolina, Thomas G. McLeod defeats ex-Governor Blease for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. . . . Senator Ashurst of Arizona is renominated by fellow Democrats.

September 13.—Connecticut Republicans, in convention, renominate Senator George P. McLean and name Lieutenant-Governor Charles A. Templeton for Governor. . . . In Georgia, Governor Hardwick is defeated for renomination by Clifford L. Walker.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 22.—Michael Collins, head of the provisional government of the Irish Free State, and popular idol, is killed in ambush at Bandon, Ireland.

August 29.—A new Chilean Cabinet takes office, Antonio Huneau succeeding Premier Armando Jaramillo as Minister of Interior and Samuel Claro Lastarria taking the place of Foreign Minister Barros Arjpa.

September 1.—The Mexican Federal Congress opens its thirtieth session, receiving a message from President Obregon reiterating his stand on American treaty negotiations and praising the debt agreement.

September 7.—At Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's celebration of one hundred years of independence from Portuguese rule is begun with elaborate festivities.

September 9.—The new Irish Parliament assembles at Dublin and elects William T. Cosgrave as President of the Dail Eireann; the new President selects Desmond Fitzgerald as Foreign Minister.

September 10.—A new Greek Cabinet is formed under M. Triantafyllakos.

September 13.—The Peruvian Congress, voting 94 to 8, ratifies the settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute made with Chile at Washington.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 17.—Premier Poincaré orders the return to Paris of the French Debt Commission now at Washington.

August 20.—The Irish Free State ties up, by injunction, \$2,300,000 raised by de Valera and Irish Republicans in the United States.

August 22.—The Presidents of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador sign a renewal of the general treaty of peace and friendship of 1907 on the United States Cruiser *Tacoma* in the Gulf of Fonseca; Guatemala and Costa Rica are to be invited to adhere to the agreement.

August 24.—Secretary of State Hughes sails for Rio de Janeiro with members of the Brazilian Centennial mission.

August 29.—Greek forces of occupation are driven back from Afion Karahissar, on the Berlin-Bagdad railway, by Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal.

August 30.—General Enoch H. Crowder, who has been studying conditions in Cuba, informs President Zayas and the Cuban Congress that he will return to the United States in ten days unless his five legislative remedies for the Cuban economic turmoil are passed.

The Reparations Commission decides that Germany need not pay any cash instalments for a period of six months, a moratorium as such being refused; 270,000,000 gold marks are to be paid in notes to Belgium with some form of bank endorsement.

September 1.—France replies to Lord Balfour's British foreign debt note of August 1, proposing an international conference among all countries affected, including America.

September 4.—The League of Nations Assembly opens its third session at Geneva, electing Augustin Edwards of Chile as President.

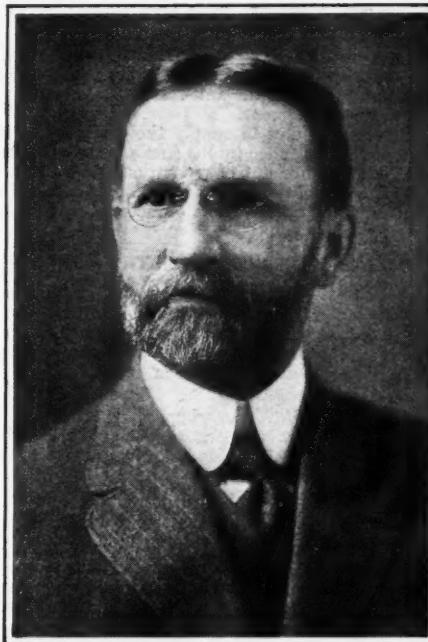
September 5.—Hugo Stinnes, German industrial leader, makes a contract with the Federation of Coöperative Societies of the French Liberated Regions to furnish building material under a scientific plan of restoration; the material will be made up in Germany and will cost 13,000,000,000 francs, to be charged to indemnity account; the negotiation was carried out by Senator de Lubersac and is expected to be ratified by the French Government and to relieve the political tension.

September 6.—The League Council appoints a commission of delegates from England, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Austria to work out a program for immediate relief of Austria; Italy has proposed a merger, with customs preference between her and Austria and commercial agreements of some sort, in order to avoid alliance between Austria and the Little Entente or Germany.

September 7.—Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal defeat the Greek army in Anatolia in a decisive battle starting with the capture of Afion Karahissar August 27 and piercing the Greek line at Eski-Shehr on August 30, the defeated Greeks retreating 200 miles to Smyrna and the Aegean in utter rout; the Turks capture the Greek field commander and two corps commanders, 400 officers and 15,000 men; 50,000 Greeks are killed, wounded, prisoner, or missing.

Allied warships land forces at Smyrna to maintain order and prevent vandalism during Greek evacuation and Turkish investment.

The League of Nations Disarmament Commis-



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HON. GEORGE SUTHERLAND, OF UTAH

(Who was appointed to the United States Supreme Court early in September. Mr. Sutherland was a member of the first Utah Senate in 1896, and served in the House of Representatives from 1901 to 1903, declining renomination. In 1905 he was sent to the United States Senate and served two full terms. He was president of the American Bar Association in 1916, and is author of a book on "Constitutional Power and World Affairs," published in 1919)

sion, suggesting extension of the Washington treaty proposes allotment of the following tonnages: Argentina 81,000, Brazil 45,000, Chile 35,000, Denmark 13,000, Greece 36,000, Holland 26,000, Norway 16,000, Spain 81,000, and Sweden 62,000.

Lord Robert Cecil presents to the League Assembly a land disarmament proposal through regional peace agreements, stating that twenty-four European powers have refused to disarm because of fears of aggression; nevertheless, Britain reports 55 per cent. reduction of her navy, France 36 per cent., Italy 49 per cent., and Japan 59 per cent., while the French army is reduced to 690,000 men and the service period is halved; Poland demobilizes 1,000,000, retaining only 260,000 men; and Japan, Sweden, and Switzerland reduce their armies.

September 8.—A centennial monument presented by citizens of the United States to Brazil is dedicated by the American Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, on the exposition grounds in Rio de Janeiro.

September 9.—Turkish cavalry occupies Smyrna; Brusa, also, is invested.

The Costa Rican National Assembly refuses to ratify the new Central American treaty of peace and amity after having been called into special session for the purpose.

September 13-14.—Fire destroys a large section

of Smyrna, alleged to have been started by victorious Turkish irregulars.

September 14.—The State Department at Washington expresses its concern over opposition in the Cuban Congress to the anti-corruption program of the Zayas government.

Germany refuses to supply the \$100,000,000 in gold marks demanded by Belgium as guarantee of a note issue on account of reparations, and also declares her inability to pay £1,500,000 demanded by September 15 by the Allies on account of private pre-war debts.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 18.—Chicago labor terrorists in the sheet metal workers', painters', and plumbers' unions are convicted of conspiracy to extort money from builders, and are sentenced to a year in prison; forty labor leaders have been found guilty to date.

August 19.—At Wasserkuppe, on the Rhöhn ridge in Germany, a contest between motorless air-planes or "gliders" results in a flight of two hours in a twenty-mile breeze.

August 23.—Railroad executives vote 254 to 4 to stand firm in their refusal to restore striking shopworkers to previous seniority rights.

August 25.—A German named Hentzen soars to 1,000 feet and remains in the air three hours and ten minutes with a motorless glider, near Gersfeld.

August 29.—The Chilean steamship *Itata* founders near Coquimbo and 316 persons perish.

September 1.—Attorney-General Daugherty obtains a temporary injunction from the United States District Court at Chicago forbidding interference with railroads or workers.

September 2.—The anthracite coal strike—lasting five months—is ended on the basis of the old wage agreement, which is extended until August 31, 1923.

The soft-coal output for the week ending September 2 is 25 per cent. greater than normal weekly consumption, and will be between 9,200,000 and 9,700,000 tons.

September 7.—Representatives of striking railroad shopmen sue for an injunction in Washington against enforcement of the Chicago injunction obtained by Attorney-General Daugherty.

September 8.—Medical and surgical specialists are called to the White House to attend Mrs. Harding, who is seriously ill.

The Herrin, Ill., grand jury indicts a total of fifty-eight persons for the coal-mine massacre of June 22; the murders were committed when mine guards were ambushed on a road near Herrin.

September 9.—Anthracite miners meeting at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., ratify the strike settlement, and 150,000 men return to work in the mines.

September 11.—Judge Wilkerson of Chicago extends the Government's injunction in the railroad strike for another ten days.

September 13.—Settlement of the railroad shopmen's strike is accepted by workmen on 55 roads, on the basis of a compromise proposed by Bert M. Jewell, strikers' leader, and Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio; differences will be adjusted by a commission.

OBITUARY

August 18.—Genevieve Ward, American tragedienne, 84. . . . W. H. Hudson, a noted English authority on bird life. . . . Ernest Lavisse, French historian, 80.

August 20.—John Marshall, prominent Louisville (Ky.) lawyer, 65. . . . Felipe Pedrell, Spanish composer and historian of music, 81.

August 21.—Park Benjamin, New York patent lawyer and author of scientific works, 73. . . . Enrique Maciver, Chilean statesman, 77. . . . J. G. Loevland, former Premier of Norway.

August 22.—Michael Collins, head of the Irish Free State provisional government and commander-in-chief of the army, 31. . . . Rev. Henry N. Couden, D.D., blind chaplain of the House of Representatives for twenty-five years, 79.

August 23.—Albert J. Hopkins, United States Senator from Illinois, 1903-'09, 76. . . . Gardner F. Williams, of California, for many years manager of the DeBeers diamond mines in South Africa, 80.

August 25.—William A. Dunning, professor of history and political science at Columbia, 72. . . . Delavan Smith, publisher of the *Indianapolis News*, 61. . . . Ellis Ward, Philadelphia rowing coach and oarsman, 77.

August 26.—Dr. Stephen Smith, pioneer sanitary reformer of New York City, 99.

August 27.—Lieut.-Gen. Sir Louis Jacob Van Deventer, commander-in-chief in the East African campaign of 1917-'19 and Boer War leader.

August 28.—Emile Bacardi, Cuba's famous distiller, 70.

August 30.—Nellie Grant Sartoris Jones, only daughter of President Grant, 65.

August 31.—William Alexander Nash, known as the dean of New York bankers, 82.

September 2.—Henry Hertzberg Lawson, Australian novelist and poet, 55.

September 3.—W. Evan Chipman, Easton, Pa., industrial leader, 50.

September 4.—George G. Hazelton, former Member of Congress from Milwaukee, 90.

September 5.—Samuel Fallows, of Chicago, presiding Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 86. . . . Dr. Edward Anthony Spitzka, noted authority on brain anatomy, 46. . . . George R. Sims, British playwright, 75.

September 7.—Lieut. Belvin W. Maynard, the "flying parson" who won the New York-to-Toronto and New York-to-San Francisco airplane races, 29. . . . Dr. William Stuart Halsted, Johns Hopkins professor of surgery, 70. . . . Dr. Harold C. Ernst, of Boston, bacteriologist, 66.

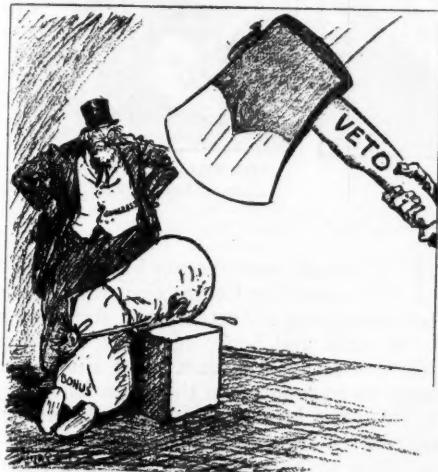
September 8.—John H. Flagler, iron and steel manufacturer, 84. . . . James T. Clark, St. Paul railway president, 70. . . . Leon Bonnat, noted French portrait painter, 89. . . . John H. Rothermel, former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, 66.

September 9.—Prof. Alexander Smith, noted Scottish-American chemist, 57.

September 10.—Rev. William Alexander Granger, D.D., for fourteen years head of the New York Baptist Conference, 72.

September 13.—Robert Weidensall, for more than fifty years active in the Y.M.C.A., 86.

AMERICA'S PROBLEMS IN HOME AND FOREIGN CARTOONS



THE HEARTLESS PARENT

From the *World* (New York)



COMPLETING THE SENTENCE!

From the *Evening World* (New York)



IT'S SAFER TO REASON WITH A GIANT THAN TO THREATEN HIM

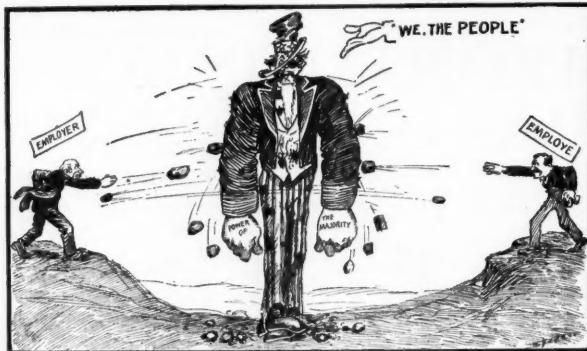
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)

[The arbitration method of the Labor Board versus the injunction method used by the Attorney-General]



THE CRIPPLED GIANT

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



RIDICULOUS SITUATION, ISN'T IT?

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)

THE REAL SETTLEMENT

From the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)MERELY A TRUCE
By Thomas, in the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)CONGRESS AND ITS TASKMASTER
From the *Record* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

THE month under survey here saw solutions emerging for problems which had been occupying the attention of Americans—the tariff and bonus measures, and the railroad and coal strikes. But European cartoons reproduced on the pages following indicate the belief abroad that America's real work is still to be done. The economic salvation of Europe depends upon the extent to which Uncle Sam can be induced to extend financial aid.



AGAIN THE TERRIBLE TURK

From the *Tribune* (New York)PUS
Us
I thi
behin



"THE GENTLEMAN WITH THE DUSTER"

BALFOUR: "Shall us? Let's!"

From *Reynolds's Newspaper* (London, England)



"BEARING THE BURDEN"

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)



"A LONG BILL"

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



"WHO'LL TAKE UP THE SPONGE?"

JOHN BULL: "It's like this, Uncle Sam! I'll clean my slate if you'll clean yours."

UNCLE SAM: "Say, Jarn! I don't quite get the big idee somehow!"

From the *News* (Cardiff, Wales)



"PUSH THE CORNER"—From the *Star* (London, England)

UNCLE SAM: "No, Sir, I don't move. But let me tell you, I think it turned unfeeling of you, Bull, to lean on those guys behind."

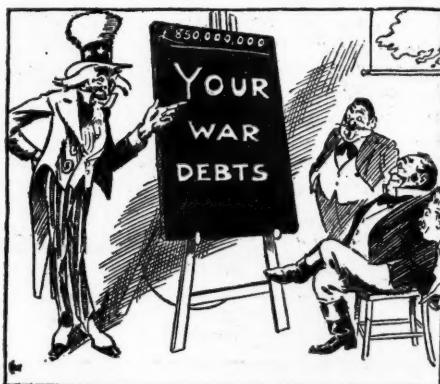


"PASSING THE BUCK"

From the *Express* (London, England)



AMERICA MAY YET PROVIDE A THRILLING RESCUE SCENE
From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



JOHN BULL: "SUPPOSE YOU CROSS OUT THE 'Y,' SAM"—From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



THE WAVERING TOWER

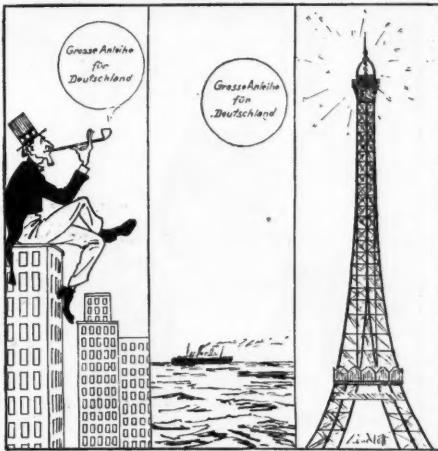
[With the German peasant supporting France, which in turn carries England, and with Uncle Sam complacently riding along on top]

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

A FALSE IMPRESSION

UNCLE SAM: "Relax my claims for payment? Hang it all, you don't think I am a philanthropist?"

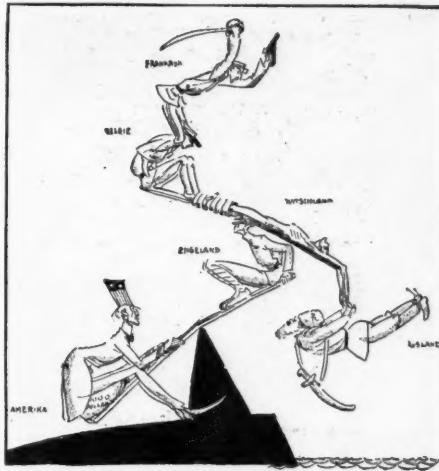
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE SOAP BUBBLE

[Uncle Sam blows a great loan for Germany across the Atlantic—which, however, is punctured on the way by the French Eiffel Tower]

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



DIPLOMATIC EQUILIBRIUM

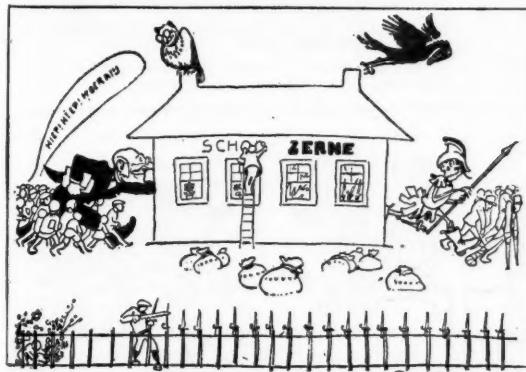
[While balancing her own self against Uncle Sam, England endeavors also to maintain the equilibrium of France and Belgium against Germany and Russia]

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



"OUT OF MY WAY, GOOD-FOR-NOTHINGS!"

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)



CONVERTING A BARRACKS IN HOLLAND INTO A SCHOOLHOUSE

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE POPULAR ALLIED GAME OF
"HIT THE MARK"

THE GERMAN MICHEL: "A dog's life! I might fall into the water at any moment!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



THE THREE APOCALYPTICAL RIDERS

[The Republic of France, the German war lord, and the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic]

From *Nebelspäler* (Zurich, Switzerland)



SHYLOCK POINCARÉ OF FRANCE, AND GERMAN MICHEL

From *Wahre, Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)



SIGNOR TURATI, THE SOCIALIST LEADER AT THE PALACE

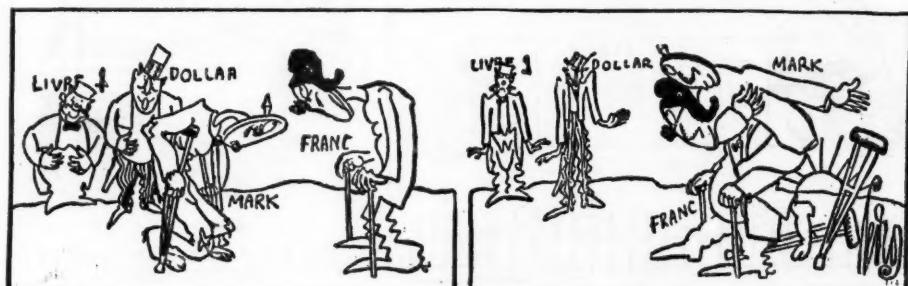
(King Victor Emmanuel is teaching him the national anthem)

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



POINCARÉ AS A WORTHY SUCCESSOR TO CLEMENCEAU, "THE TIGER"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

THE FABLE OF THE BLIND MAN AND THE PARALYTIC—From *Œuvre* (Paris, France)

(The blind man representing the German mark climbs on the shoulders of the paralytic French franc)

THE GREEK DEFEAT AND EUROPEAN DISCORD

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE REPARATIONS COMPROMISE

A MONTH ago I closed my article at the moment when the failure of the London Conference was patent and the possibility of drastic action by France, either supported by Belgium or entirely alone, was disturbing the statesmen of the world. Once more, at a critical moment, we have had a compromise which has postponed a catastrophe without settling any issue or disposing of any cause of dispute.

In the present article I purpose to deal briefly with this compromise and then turn to the developments in the Near East, where the Anglo-French quarrels have had tragic consequences and once more a divided Christian World has not alone saved the Turk but permitted him to add a new chapter to all those of the past, which equally reproach Mohammedan and Christian.

In the matter of reparations, what occurred was this: The London Conference, called to deal with the whole German problem, failed, as it was bound to fail, precisely because the Balfour Note excluded the question of interallied debts. France and Belgium were, in the nature of things, unable to agree to a moratorium for Germany, while they were confronted with the necessity to pay the United States and Great Britain themselves. They were equally incapable of agreeing to a reduction in what Germany owed them, while no reduction was allowed in what they owed Britain and the United States.

With the break-up of the London Conference the whole matter returned to the hands of the Reparations Commission, which had to act upon the German application for a moratorium in reparations payments. But the Reparations Commission was just as incapable of agreement as had been the leaders of the several countries represented upon it. You had then a period of suspense, of debates, of excursions to Ber-

lin, while from Paris came grim warnings that France had reached the limit of her patience and that troop movements into the Ruhr were imminent.

Finally, out of the confusion and worse there emerged the following arrangement: The German request for a moratorium was denied, France and Belgium voting in the negative, Britain in the affirmative, and Italy declining to vote at all. Instead of a moratorium, however, Germany was permitted to make an agreement with Belgium for the payments for the balance of 1922.

This compromise was based upon the fact that all of the money to be paid for the balance of the present year, approximately \$55,000,000, was earmarked for Belgium, in accordance with the priority which Belgium had been granted in German reparations payments. Therefore, if the Belgians were ready to accept German promises and notes instead of money, they would be the only possible losers, and they were prepared to run the risk rather than see a general crash precipitated by military operations against Germany, in which Belgium was bound to share with France both the burden and the blame.

As for the French, their situation was clear. They had carried their point that there should be no moratorium unless this were accompanied by productive guarantees. Thus their position, when it came time for Germany to begin payments to them, would be unaffected by any previous agreement. If Germany failed to meet the contract she had made with Belgium, then the French case would be strengthened and, in the meantime, delay meant no risk financially for France.

A second and far more impressive reason was found in the fact that at precisely the same moment negotiations were proceeding between Stinnes, the great German capitalist, and the Marquis de Lubersac, representing the French Government, for an application of the principles of the old

Rathenau-Loucheur agreement, which provided for the delivery by Germany to France of the materials required for the reconstruction of the dwellings and other buildings in the devastated area. All of this had been arranged at the famous Wiesbaden conference of the previous year and then blocked, partly through British protest elicited through fear that the deliveries would prejudice British claims upon Germany, and partly through equally selfish French opposition.

Now, however, Stinnes proposed to produce the materials, and the French Government found itself faced with a situation in which no money was likely to be forthcoming from Germany for an indefinite period, and French resources had been exhausted in the gigantic effort which had resulted in restoring the fields, the railways, the factories and the mines. There remained the pressing necessity to rebuild the homes and the Stinnes proposal gave hope that something real might be done.

Accordingly Poincaré yielded and accepted the compromise proposed by the Belgians at their own expense. His alternative was an invasion of Germany, which would have been unpopular the world over and could not have yielded any material return sufficient to help rebuild the devastated area.

Here, then, for the moment the reparations question rests; nothing has been settled. With the coming of the new year, unless there be action in the meantime, unless Germany shall satisfy Belgium and the Stinnes proposal has been translated into fact, France will again be free to act and, as I have said, her position before the world will be much better. Moreover, one of the conditions under which the respite was conceded was that the Germans should proceed forthwith to the reorganization of their own finances and currency, and thus put themselves in condition to meet the payment which would be due next year.

II. A NEW CONFERENCE

Meantime the whole financial problem, reparations and interallied debts, promises to be the subject for debate at one more international conference, this time probably held on the Continent, and, perhaps, at Brussels. At this conference the question of interallied debts, excluded from London by reason of the Balfour Note, will come up

and we shall have a debate on the question of the reduction of the German reparations figures.

The reception of the Balfour Note in America and on the Continent has clearly proven that in it British statesmanship took a false route. This conviction has been very strongly expressed by Lord Grey of Fallodon, who tersely remarked that when a big thing could have been done in a big way a small thing was done in a small way. There has been general British dismay at the resentment in the United States and pretty widespread appreciation of the fact that the effort to promote American cancellation has failed dismally.

Nor was the continental reception less unfavorable. Poincaré himself presently responded in a caustic declaration which made it at once plain that France meant to pay Britain nothing save as Germany paid France, and then only after the costs of reconstructing the devastated areas had been met. In Italy and in Belgium the popular resentment of the Balfour Note was as complete as in America or France. Moreover, it was perfectly clear that the Balfour Note, whatever its purpose, had arrived at establishing two things—first, that America would not cancel, and, second, that the Continent, France, Italy and Belgium, would not pay, save in the remote contingency that Germany should pay enough to cover the costs of reconstructing their war zones and also of meeting their foreign war debts.

The November conference will have to take cognizance of these facts. Will Britain there propose a mutual cancellation of debts followed by a scaling down of German reparations? If she does not, then there will be no question of a reduction of the German reparations. But the real question is not whether Britain will agree to cancellation, but what terms she will set upon such an act on her part. Will she demand a reduction of the German reparations totals so sweeping as to provoke French protest? Will she demand in addition a reduction of the French military establishment and the evacuation of the occupied areas of Germany by all the Allied troops?

If a demand is made for the reduction of the sum total of reparations, provided Britain cancel what her Allies owe her, and scale down her share in reparations, it is by no means impossible that French consent may be had, always provided the Stinnes

proposal has been put into operation and has proven advantageous. But nothing is less likely than that French consent can be gained for a reduction of military strength as a payment for the cancellation of debts owing Britain.

France is willing to reduce her army, provided she can have a British guarantee of aid in time of trouble, that is, in fact, a British alliance, but on no other terms will she consent to any further reductions. Lloyd George on his side has for three years persistently sought to bring about the reduction of the French army, a step which would insure British supremacy on the Continent and deprive France of any real power whatsoever without promising the all-important guarantee.

Nothing is more certain than that Lloyd George will, therefore, endeavor to promote his plans for a Pan-European association, plans which he disclosed at Genoa, and try to make the *quid pro quo* for cancellation of debts French consent to a sweeping reduction in military strength and a coinciding evacuation of the left bank of the Rhine. In a word, Lloyd George is practically certain to attempt in the new conference to succeed in that campaign in which he failed so completely at the Genoa Conference.

I have tried to make clear in past articles that the Georgian conception of a reorganized Europe rests upon the fundamental idea of doing away with all alliances. He would admit Germany and Russia to the League of Nations without further debate. He would insist upon the placating of both countries at the expense of their neighbors, by cessions of territories and the modification of treaties. This was the general conception which came to grief at Genoa, after having aroused the apprehension of every Continental country except Italy, whose present policy is based upon the cardinal doctrine of opposing France and Jugoslavia at all times and of supporting all propositions which they oppose.

To carry out his plan of European reordering, Lloyd George has only the financial instrument to use and this is hardly adequate unless he can employ American as well as British resources. Underlying all else in the Balfour Note was the conception of Anglo-American coöperation and the joint use of the debts owed each by continental nations to compel these countries to accept British views in the matter of dis-

armament—views which Lloyd George's press following has been steadily seeking to establish in the United States.

Now, what is probable is that Lloyd George will try to persuade the American Government to use its control over Europe, represented in Allied indebtedness, to promote his ideas, while he abandons all hope of persuading us to cancel the British debt. Britain will then propose to its Continental allies a mutual cancellation of debts without regard to the American course, but will make cancellation conditional upon political concessions such as I have foreshadowed, and at the same time still advise us to grant something like a moratorium to our Continental debtors, provided they accept Anglo-American ideas in the matter of disarmament, evacuation of German territory, and the abolition of the submarine.

For the moment, however, we are likely to have a lessening of tension, provided the German Government does not commit the unbelievable error of failing to satisfy the Belgian claims, and provided also Stinnes does not evade performance of his contract with Lubersac. In this time a new conference will be preparing—a conference which might, if it confined itself to financial considerations, accomplish much, but which seems condemned, like all previous gatherings, to exhaust its energies and limit its possibilities by attempting to promote political ends.

After three years of debate certain details seem to have become pretty clear. In the first place, France will not permit Germany to recover from the war unless Germany undertakes in good faith to make good French losses from German devastations. In the second place, France will not disarm herself until Germany has given evidence of having abandoned hostile intentions, or until Great Britain agrees to guarantee France against a new German attack. In the third place, no Continental country intends to pay any of its foreign debt save as it gets the necessary money from Germany.

The Genoa Conference demonstrated still another pertinent fact, namely, that Lloyd George's policy pushed to its logical conclusion tended to drive France, Poland, the Little Entente and Belgium into a close association to defend the war settlements, while the American refusal to go to Genoa and the later response, official and unofficial, to the Balfour Note, indicated that in

none of his combinations could Lloyd George count upon American presence or effective aid.

But even more unmistakable is the lesson of the last three years that Anglo-French discord remains the chief obstacle to any real settlement of post-war problems. Neither the one nor the other can control. Lloyd George has sometimes been successful in persuading a French Prime Minister to adopt a British point of view, but invariably the minister has fallen and his successor has rejected the argument accepted by his predecessor.

The worst evils in the present world situation grow out of the approximate rupture between Britain and France. Germany has been encouraged to resist, France has been driven to the consideration of desperate measures which might have fatal consequences for Europe as a whole, French reconstruction has been delayed, British unemployment aggravated and prolonged. Moreover—and this fact is far too little appreciated in Europe—American sympathy has been alienated by the constant recriminations exchanged between the two countries.

It is true that we have sometimes sympathized with France and perhaps more frequently with British conceptions, but the ultimate consequence has been acute irritation with both and fortified resolution to keep out of the European mess. Whether the differences between French and British material and political interests are too great inherently to permit of accommodation, I do not pretend to say, but it does seem fairly plain now that, if they cannot be accommodated, the final outcome will be European chaos and complete American isolation.

For the past three years, right up to the present hour, Anglo-French relations have steadily and visibly worsened. They have probably never been as bad since the Fashoda affair as they are at the present hour. Yet, since neither has the requisite means to coerce the other, adjustment must be by compromise and the disquieting fact is that each month makes compromise less simple. You have actually to go to Europe to appreciate the extent of the mutual distrust at the present hour—the British distrust of France, the French distrust of Lloyd George.

Yet the fact remains that given the American attitude, which I do not believe

will change in time to be effective, European salvation depends upon Anglo-French co-operation, and if such co-operation cannot be insured before the November conference, not only is that conference foredoomed but a general European financial and political collapse is almost inevitable.

I dwell upon these circumstances now because I do not wish my readers to be misled by the present temporary postponement of a European collapse. Nothing in the conditions of the postponement in the least affects the main difficulty and until that is remedied there can be no permanent deliverance.

III. A GREEK DISASTER

Turning, now, to the Near East, the past month has seen the collapse of the Greek army, the overwhelming triumph of Kemal Pasha, and the presentation to a divided Europe of one more acute crisis. In the examination of this affair, too, one must uncover still further evidences of the results of Anglo-French differences, for the return of Turkey is the direct outcome of an Anglo-French quarrel in which the French assumed the historic British rôle as the protector of the Turk.

The origin of the present war, for it is a war, is to be found in the settlements of Paris. At that Conference Greece was represented by Venizelos, who had done so much for the Allied cause. Thanks to his services and his skill, Greece was allotted at Paris all of the remaining Turkish territory in Europe right up to the Chatalja lines, which are the outer defenses of Constantinople. In addition the Greeks received the Bulgarian territory between the Rhodopian Mountains and the Egean, comprising all of the Bulgarian share of the Egean sea-coast. Adrianople was the chief city in this region, but the Greeks were permitted to hope that they would have the eventual possession of Constantinople, itself.

In addition, Greece was permitted to garrison, or rather pushed into the occupation of, Smyrna, largely because the Italians coveted this prize, but also because a majority of the population were actually Greek. In the lofty language of the Paris period, Greece was to have a mandate for Smyrna and a considerable territory about it on the mainland of Asia. Finally, Greek claims were honored both with respect of the Dodecanesus, an archipelago in the

Egean occupied by the Italians in their Turkish War, and of Northern Epirus, also claimed by the Albanians, who were supported by the Italians.

But on his return to his own country Venizelos met with political ruin. First, Alexander, whom he had made King in place of Constantine, died as the result of a monkey bite. Then Venizelos was defeated in a general election, Constantine came back from exile, Venizelos fled and his supporters were proscribed. Thus it was Constantine, the friend of Germany and the brother-in-law of the Kaiser, who stood to harvest all the considerable profits which had accrued to his country by reason of Venizelos.

Meantime the international situation had changed. The French had come to see in Greek expansion the evidence of a British design to dominate the eastern Mediterranean, using Greece as their agent. They had, too, every reason to hate Constantine, who had been personally responsible for the killing of many French sailors in Athens during the war. France, therefore, began to agitate for a revision of the Near Eastern settlement and to advocate the return to the Turk of all of the Greek holdings in Asia Minor.

French policy was further influenced by the fact that the French mandate of Syria had a long frontier with Turkey and the Turks were threatening reprisal there for French support of Greek claims in Paris. In the end, after some negotiations, the French made a separate treaty with the Turks, which obtained security for Syria in return for French evacuation of Cilicia and tacit agreement to support the Turks against the Greeks—a support which included the sale of large amounts of war material. This war material enabled Kemal to equip his army.

French policy in the matter of Turkey was closely imitated by the Italians, who had hoped to acquire Syria and were jealous of every Greek gain, for they correctly saw in the rise of a Greater Greece a bar to all their own hopes of ultimate domination in the Eastern Mediterranean. Somewhat later than the French, they too, made a separate treaty with the Turks which was equally unfavorable to the Greeks.

Meantime the British support of the Turk had had evil consequences throughout the British Empire. Masters of Constantinople, where they were nominally in

occupation together with the French and Italians, the British had forced the Sultan to accept the Paris settlement, but this acceptance had been repudiated by Kemal Pasha, who went to Asia, made Angora his capital, and rallied the remnants of the old Turkish army about him.

This resistance of Kemal aroused the war spirit of all the millions of Mohammedans in the British Empire, who saw the Sultan as the head of their faith and British policy as a deliberate assault upon Islam. In India and Egypt the consequences were serious. Moreover, in the British Isles there were loud protests against this Near Eastern policy, which was having such unfortunate results in various parts of the Empire.

The Greeks, however, were in Smyrna and last summer, under British sanction, they undertook a grandiose campaign, with Angora as the ultimate objective. On the whole their troops were well led and fought well; after several real victories they arrived before Angora and were foiled only by a breakdown of their lines of communication. But in the end they were obliged to retire. Kemal Pasha escaped ruin and began the systematic reorganization of his forces, largely aided by the French, the Italians and even by the Bolsheviks, who welcomed this chance to retaliate for British aid given to various Russian leaders who sought to overthrow the Soviet régime.

Last winter it became clear that the Greeks would not be able to conquer Asia Minor and in March there was a conference in Paris in which France, Italy and Britain served terms upon Greece and Turkey—terms which proposed an immediate armistice and an eventual evacuation of Smyrna by Greece. But Kemal Pasha had no intention of abandoning Adrianople and the preparations for a new campaign were pushed, while French support of the Turk was disclosed daily in the Paris press.

Finally, a few weeks ago, the Greeks threatened to seize Constantinople and actually withdrew troops from Asia for this gesture. This drew protest from all Allied capitals and promoted an agreement between France, Britain and Italy to resist such an attempt, but did lead Lloyd George to a speech in the House of Commons in which he clearly disclosed his sympathy with the Greeks. After this speech there was a further agreement between the Allies that there should shortly be a Conference

at Venice to settle the whole Near Eastern problem.

But Kemal Pasha was now ready and a few days later the world was surprised by the news that the Greek army in Asia Minor had been defeated, driven from the line of the Bagdad railway and was in wild and hopeless flight. What had happened was clear. Greece has been at war almost constantly for the past ten years and her population has been mobilized for all of these years. War weariness at last assailed army and people and the army refused to fight.

As I write these lines, the Turkish army is at the gates of Smyrna and all question of Greek resistance is at an end. The city has been turned over to the Allied commanders, the western nations have hurried warships to the scene to protect their nationals, and the considerable Greek Christian population is threatened by an Armenian fate.

To all proposals for an armistice Kemal has responded with the natural retort that an armistice will be accepted only when it includes all of Turkish war aims, which means, in fact, assurance that Turkey will regain Adrianople as well as Smyrna. Since the Allied fleets control the Straits, there is no obvious way for Turkish troops to be sent into Europe. But Kemal has already openly asserted that if such transfer is opposed by British warships, Turkish troops can retaliate by the invasion of the British mandate of Mesopotamia.

Actually, then, the whole Near Eastern settlement now goes into the waste-basket and Turkey is on the point of returning to Europe.

IV. THE CONSEQUENCES

We have now to consider the consequences of this complete reversal of the decisions of the last war registered in the Paris settlement. The first and most obvious consequence must be the return to the Turk of all of his Asiatic holdings in Anatolia. Nor is it less manifest that his position at Constantinople will be far different from that assigned to him in the existing treaties.

In the next conference to settle the Eastern Question, and a conference is almost certain, France will openly champion the Turkish claim to full title in Constantinople and she will probably have Italian support, although this is less certain. She will also

advocate the return of Adrianople to the Turk. In a word, a restored Turkey will now be one of the details in French European policy.

But this is only a detail; French position in the whole Islamic world has been strengthened at British expense. British prestige in the Near East has suffered a staggering blow. Moreover, Britain has now to face the dangers of a hostile Turkey on the very borders of a turbulent Mesopotamia. In the end the French in Syria will probably find a similar disadvantage, but for the moment French influence with Kemal is likely to be preëminent.

As for Greece, she has suffered an appalling disaster: Of the vast territories won by Venizelos she has already lost Northern Epirus and the Egean Islands, together with Smyrna and her Asiatic holdings. That she can hold Adrianople or any part of Eastern Thrace seems totally unlikely. She will thus be thrown back upon the frontiers which she obtained in the Treaty of Bucharest, which liquidated the Second Balkan War. Her dream of regaining Constantinople and becoming a great nation once more is thus indefinitely postponed.

This is the price she has paid for preferring Constantine to Venizelos, and this is the outcome Venizelos personally forecast to me only a few months ago when he was in Washington. That this catastrophe would end Constantine was his further conviction and one will watch the Athens despatches in the next weeks to see whether Constantine will again go and Venizelos once more return.

But assuming that Venizelos does return, it is hard to see what he can save from the wreck. Greece is bankrupt as a result of the protracted struggle. Her army has ceased to exist. Italy, Albania, Bulgaria, all of her neighbors save Jugoslavia, are openly hostile and if she retains British friendship it must be at the price of continuing French opposition, which must postpone her entrance into the Little Entente, where all her interests would naturally take her.

Greece, like Austria, whose plight I shall discuss in a moment, has to her supreme misfortune become a pawn in the game of the Great Powers. In becoming the soldier of Great Britain she invited French and Italian hostility. In the larger game of Anglo-French rivalry, which has been played in the Near East from the moment

of the Armistice onward, the French have won, temporarily, by backing the Turk and British defeat will have to be paid for by Greek suffering.

But, with Turkey back at the Straits, all the old intrigue and maneuver of the past two centuries promises to be resumed. It was Russia who was promised Constantinople as a detail in the contract which bound France, Britain and Russia together against Germany. Russia lost her chance when she quit the war in 1917. Britain welcomed the chance to avoid an undesirable solution, become a matter of dire necessity. But the British alternative has gone glimmering and now one wonders if, in the end, the Slav will not succeed in reaching the Golden Horn.

Meantime one is reminded of how history loves to repeat itself. Never, save through divisions in the Christian world, could the Turk have reached Europe in the first place. For more than a century he has hung on, despite his weakness and disrepute, because of this same European anarchy. Had Britain consented that France should add Tangiers to her Moroccan colony it is highly possible that the Turk would this time have been exiled for good. But, blocked at Tangiers, France has upset British policy at the Golden Horn and for the moment won an advantage which may not be negligible in the next conference of the powers.

Perhaps a few Americans will recall that Constantinople was one of the mandates which the Paris Conference desired their country should accept and certain of the American representatives felt we should accept. Had the Sultan's capital become an American mandate, we should to-day have to face complications which, to say the least, would not have been welcome to our Government.

If only France and Great Britain could have remained united the present tragedy—and it is a tragedy, human as well as political, for it means the loss of thousands of lives—the practical extinction of the half-million and more of Greeks living in Asia Minor might have been avoided. Moreover, if this breach in the Anglo-French Entente is not closed promptly it is difficult to see how the world can escape a far more terrible tragedy incident to the collapse of Germany and the extension of political anarchy over much of the area of Central Europe.

V. AUSTRIA'S PLIGHT

The past month has seen one more frantic effort on the part of Austria to escape from the impossible situation in which she finds herself. The Paris settlement, in disposing of the Hapsburg territories by reducing the old Dual Monarchy to its racial terms, left a fragment of some 30,000 square miles, that is, about the area of New England without Maine, inhabited by German-speaking people and containing a little more than six millions of inhabitants. But of these six millions more than two lived in Vienna alone and quite obviously the sadly shrunken Austrian state could not support such a capital.

Before the World War Vienna had been the political and the industrial center of an Empire of 50,000,000, but the Paris settlement not only cut off six-sevenths of the population and an even larger fraction of the area but it also turned over to the Succession States the sources from which Vienna drew its raw materials and the new states erected tariff barriers which excluded Viennese production.

It was clear from the outset that Austria could not exist as a separate economic unit. There were three possible solutions: Union with Germany, economic if not political association with the Succession States, which in due course of time drew together in the Little Entente, and some sort of economic arrangement with Italy.

The first solution was always impossible because both France and the Succession States were unalterably opposed to adding six millions to the population of Germany, thus repairing all war losses and at the same time opening the road for German resumption of the march down the Danube valley. If you will glance at the map you will see what German annexation of Austria would mean to Czechoslovakia.

The second solution was at once simpler and more natural. It meant, in reality, restoring in some measure old economic unity between the now sundered parts of the Hapsburg Monarchy and it promised Vienna not only a supply of coal drawn from Czechoslovakia and Poland but also a market for its manufactures in Jugoslavia. Under the able direction of Dr. Benes, the great Premier of Czechoslovakia, some steps had already been taken in this direction and last month saw further conferences between Austria, Jugoslavia and

Czechoslovakia, the states most immediately concerned.

Unhappily this logical solution was barred by the determination of Italy to prevent any sort of reconstruction of the old Austrian Empire, a reconstruction which would infallibly give the two Slav states of Middle Europe complete control in the Danube Valley. Italian policy here was exactly like French policy in opposing the union of Austria with Germany. What Italy dreads more than all else is the rise of a strong Slav state or Slav-controlled federation of states on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and in the Danube Valley.

All the battle of the Italians since the end of the war has been directed, first, at restricting the Jugoslav frontage on the Adriatic, second at fomenting discord between the Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Serbs, who make up the new Jugoslav state, and, third, at preventing an arrangement by which communication between Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia through a friendly Austria may be achieved.

The Italians fear the Jugoslavs; they fear the ultimate rebirth of Pan-Slavism. Their dream is of dominating a southeastern Europe composed of small, weak states, separated by mutual hatreds. Their nightmare is a strong federation of states, which will not only be powerful enough to block Italian aspirations in the middle and east of Europe but also enable the Southern Slavs to reconquer the territories acquired by Italy between Gorizia and Fiume, in which there is a very large Slav population.

In acquiring Trieste and blocking Slav efforts to obtain Fiume, the Italians have practically cut the Jugoslavs off from effective access to the Adriatic. Only the construction of an expensive railway line can remedy the evil, and by supporting Albanian claims about Scutari and the Drin Valley the Italians have also closed this avenue of approach.

But in retaliation the Slavs have practically cut off all the traffic originating in their territories and reaching the sea by Trieste or Fiume. Trieste is already a dying port; its only commerce originates in Austrian territory and even this would be abolished if Austria should enter into the Little Entente, where Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are the dominant partners.

Accordingly, Italy has openly proclaimed that any agreement between the Little

Entente and Austria, even of a commercial character, would be regarded by Rome as a cause for war. Instead of such an arrangement, Italy has proposed and Italian and Austrian statesmen discussed at Verona last month, some sort of arrangement by which Austria would enter the tariff boundaries of Italy.

But such a solution is patently ridiculous, because Austria's chief necessity is cheap coal and Italy is quite as destitute as Austria of this essential fuel. Moreover, the feeling between Italians and Austrians is terribly bitter, partly because of ancient grudges but even more because, in annexing the Upper Tyrol with its purely German-speaking population, the Italians deprived Austria of what was rightfully hers and what was essential to her separate existence, since it was the source of much food, all to the end that Italy might have a strategic frontier. The late Lord Bryce denounced this decision as one of the most indefensible made at Paris.

Moreover, if Italy has declared that she will fight rather than let Austria enter a Danubian confederation, even purely economic, it is just as obvious that Jugoslavia, backed by Czechoslovakia, would never consent to Italian domination in Vienna. Since, moreover, Rome has steadily intrigued at Budapest, and one of the common dangers of all the Little Entente states is the irredentism of the Magyars, there is an added reason for Slav intransigence over the Italian proposal.

In the larger game, too, Italy sees in the Little Entente the hand of France. Between the two Latin states the present feeling is almost as bitter as that between Germany and France before the last war. Italy steadily opposes France in every international gathering. But despite this opposition France has been able to rally to herself the support of the Little Entente and Poland. The close relations between Paris and Belgrade are a source of never ending apprehension and resentment in Rome.

One must appreciate the Italian point of view. If it be conceivable that one day a Danubian Confederation made up of Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Austria should take form, then Hungary would be forced to enter, since she would be absolutely surrounded and this confederation, more powerful than Austria, since it would not be weakened by racial rivalries, would not only

threaten Italian domination in the Adriatic and destroy Italian aspirations for influence in Middle Europe, but it would also constitute a threat to Italian gains in the last war, since the Austrians would most certainly aspire to regain Trieste, their natural port, while the Jugoslavs would continue to demand Fiume.

This would mean that in the larger sense Italy had fought the war and made her great sacrifice in vain. If one could assume that in time—and the assumption is reasonable—Greece would join the Little Entente, having with Rumania and Jugoslavia a common danger on the Bulgarian side and with Jugoslavia a common menace in Italy and particularly in Italian policy in Albania, then the Italian future would be fatally compromised and Italy would see the Hapsburg Monarchy disappear only to be replaced by a hostile confederacy infinitely more powerful and dangerous.

Italy does not desire to see Germany annex Austria, for this would mean an ultimate German effort to take up Austrian claims to Trieste. So far her policy marches with French, but one may wonder whether she would not prefer to see such a union of Austria and Germany to any Danubian confederation. In any event all her efforts since the end of the war have been concentrated upon blocking any sort of unity between the Danubian countries, and this policy can hardly change.

President Wilson's opposition to Italian possession of Fiume, to the application of all of the terms of the treaty of London, which was the basis of Italian participation in the war, really wrecked the whole Adriatic dream of the Italians, for neither France nor Great Britain effectively supported their Italian ally. The rise of Jugoslavia, which may easily become a very powerful state, a state in which a militant Serbia is playing the rôle of Prussia in the old German Empire, is a disappointment for the Italians which can hardly be measured.

With the passing of Jugoslavia and the whole Little Entente into the French orbit, Italy is, in fact, isolated on the Continent.

She has British support within certain limits, but in the case of Greece Britain has followed her own interests, not those of Italy, while in the Adriatic British public opinion has largely supported the Slavs rather than the Italians. Since the British have no military strength, moreover, Italy is actually helpless in the presence of the combined strength of the French and the Little Entente.

Even a restoration of the old German-Italian alliance holds out no present counterpoise to the French combination, for Germany is quite powerless and must, from a military and political point of view, remain powerless for an indefinite period. Italy feels herself a great power, she has a European population as large, perhaps a little larger than that of France, but she sees France in possession of all of the ancient Roman territories from the Tripolitan frontier to the Atlantic, while she feels French support of her Slav enemies in the Adriatic. Finally, her own domestic situation, financial as well as political, further prevents her from playing in the international field that rôle which she has long desired to play.

The clash of French, Slav and Italian policies in the Danube and in the regions of the Adriatic thus seems to doom Austria, unless the Little Entente shall presently take the risk of war and Austria, in desperation, joins a Danubian confederation. Meantime, however, American readers can see, by any examination of the political factors in the Austrian situation, why when solution is possible ruin has continued to accumulate.

The Austrian plight is mainly the result of circumstances beyond the control of the people or of the government; the German situation is the direct result of a deliberate German purpose to evade payment, but in the end the ruin may be equally complete, for while international rivalries prevent the salvation of Austria, similar quarrels make impossible the application of methods which might save Germany in spite of herself.



THE WOMEN LEADERS OF MODERN EGYPT

BY GRACE THOMPSON SETON

HOW is Egypt modern, and why should there be women leaders?

Why should some women in Egypt have stepped out of their harems and, dangling their veils beside them, be working day and night to bring independence to their country—a true independence as they see it, both political and social?

To answer this politically, one must go back a little into Egypt's history.

To answer it socially, one has only to know that the world-wave of self-determination began to lap the mental shore of educated Egypt about ten years ago, and that it had been gathering in volume ever since, and that it received new impetus during the Great War. It has swept over conventions and inhibitions of women as well as men, and has carried with it the various forms of civic progress—schools, hospitals, dispensaries, welfare, hygiene, and sanitation.

It is now forty years since England first took a hand in straightening out Egypt. Her grip has tightened and loosened and tightened again, in a long series of acts under a few wise administrators of exceptional ability—Lord Cromer, Lord Kitchener, and Lord Allenby. Tremendous have been the improvements for Egypt accomplished by these Englishmen: Oppression relieved, laws made and law courts established where the peasant could find protection; trade encouraged, commerce developed, especially along the line of Egypt's great staple, cotton; the Assuan Dam completed and, by that triumph of engineering skill, the opening for agriculture of vast tracts of desert adjacent to the Nile; various dispensaries and hospitals established for the relief of suffering. All this the English have done, and more.

Going along with these benefits—and the one that must be considered the greatest of them all, as a factor in the present "political unrest"—is the changing social condition due to the advance of education. The teaching of the printed word has

brought to Egypt the whole world—what it is doing and feeling. Education has freed the power of thought and expression throughout the upper and middle classes and has filtered down to the peasants, whose patient toil is the wealth of Egypt. The credit for the spread of education, however surprising it may seem, must be given largely to the efforts of French and American missionaries, and it began over sixty years ago.

No intelligent Egyptian, and certainly none of the Zaghlulists (as the Independent Nationalists are familiarly called, after their leader), denies the benefits that England has worked out in Egypt. But the itch for independence has spread like a fever through all classes: even as a child, grown-up, and educated by a parent, seeks to throw off the discipline of a stern guardian—so the Nationalists are struggling to throw off the heavy hand of England. Through the High Commissioner's intercession, this has been accomplished in part. In February, 1922, the British Protectorate was withdrawn, also martial law which had been in the land more or less for seven years. And the Sultan was graduated into King of "the Kingdom of Egypt."

Meanwhile, the real leaders of this strange land of the Nile, Saad Zaghlul Pasha and the group around him, were banished to the Island of Seychelles in the Indian Ocean; and they remained banished.

Egypt looked with suspicion upon a King and a Premier and his cabinet, which were set up by the British and did not represent the will of the people; and Egypt "quieted down" only in the newspapers. The political agitation went on; the women for the first time took a hand in public affairs. They were the wives, daughters, and sweethearts of the banished leaders, who formed a militant political group, and also other leaders in the larger new-woman movement.

It would be a surprise to most readers of the Occident to see these women in con-

ventional clothes, and to realize that instead of being pampered and bejeweled dolls or sad-eyed slaves they have broken out of *purdah* [seclusion of woman] and are using all the modern methods both for their political opposition and for their general welfare work.

Let us consider the political group first: The "Ladies Wafd [delegation] for the Independence of Egypt" is composed of women drawn from the ever-widening circle of the New Woman who is demanding her "place in the sun" all over this whirling world of ours. Whether history writes the record of these women as political agitators, or as patriots, their work is remarkable; and especially so in a country where women have been suppressed and considered the chattel of man, where until recently she has been hidden out of sight and not so much as the mention of her name has been allowed in public.

Inspired by a deep patriotism which suppression has brought to the point of fanaticism, these women work for the release of their leader, Saad Zaghlul Pasha, and for the men who have been exiled with him, and also for those who are removed by prison walls from carrying on their efforts to break down the power of the English and of the Zarwat ministry. They claim that the present Government, under King Fuad I and his cabinet, does not represent the Egyptian people; that the Premier, Zarwat Pasha is not even an Egyptian but a Tunisian; and that his cabinet consists

of men from the old Pashadom, or titled class, which the English suppressed because of their exploitation of the lower classes, especially the *fellahs*, or peasants.

They claim, further, that the whole vicious circle is begun again, that the

Egyptian people will be judged by these men, and that the precious opportunity to show that the Egyptians can govern themselves will be lost, because the only men who are the real leaders of Egypt—with Saad Zaghlul Pasha at their head—are banished, imprisoned and suppressed by the stern use of England's superior power.

On the other hand, the case is not so simple. A long presentation of it is not germane here, but it must be remembered that Egypt has a remarkable soldier and statesman, one of the world figures to-day, the conqueror of Palestine, adjudicating the case of England *versus* Egypt. Field Marshal Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., so far as possible, considering all the varied interests involved, has shown himself sympathetic toward Egyptian national aspirations.

He tried to treat with the Independent Nationalists, as they were originally styled, but he found the attitude of Saad Zaghlul Pasha so uncompromisingly "Egypt for Egypt alone," and the fiery spirit of rebellion and reprisal so strong, that he finally banished Zaghlul Pasha to Malta, then permitted him to reside in Paris and, finally, after two years, to return to Egypt.



SOPHIA HANEM, WIFE OF ZAGHLUL PASHA
(Who has taken her exiled husband's place as leader of the Independent Nationalist Movement in Egypt. The photograph was made in Paris)

On that occasion, in the autumn of 1921, Egypt gave Zaghlul Pasha a tremendous ovation. The country went wild with enthusiasm. But soon the old friction produced more serious riots, and the measures used by the English to suppress these attacks on life and property resulted in further reprisals by the Egyptians, who took a "life for a life" in the struggle to free their country from foreign domination. At the beginning of 1922, Lord Allenby for the second time, "for public safety," banished Zaghlul Pasha and some of the principal leaders of the Independent Nationalists.

Then it was that the women whose photographs are here shown, for the first time, stepped into the limelight. These photographs were taken for home use only, and they are in no case flattering. It is an innovation to permit the picture of a Moslem woman of high degree to be published, and so far as I know it is the first time any such have been reproduced. Permission to use them was given to me because these Oriental women want American and European women to know the facts of their story which has never been told. They want to take their place in the world. For this reason they have broken through the tradition of ages and accept publicity "as American ladies do."

Women when roused to action are more single-minded than men. "The female of the species is more deadly than the male," as Kipling says. In the days when the Red Indian was leading a savage life, and the weak went down before the strong, it was the old women of the tribe who sharpened their teeth that they might better tear at the prisoners who were to be sacrificed.

In the French Revolution, when Paris was a shambles, the women were more merciless and more dauntless than the unmerciful and undaunted men. The *tricoteuses*, or knitting-women, never dropped a stitch while they attended the gory business of the guillotine.

The fire of spiritual rebellion is in the heart of every woman in the Zaghlulist party. The treatment meted out to her loved ones and to her Egypt, the military suppression of what she considers her just and proper rights, has crystallized the martyr spirit in her. She has adopted the slogan of her indomitable leader, Mme. Zaghlul Pasha: *Nous irons—jusqu'au bout* [We shall go on—till the end].

The methods of the "Ladies Wafd" are essentially modern. They originated the boycott against English goods and have carried on that campaign with vigor. They organized women's committees in the big cities and in the provinces, and recently had a reunion in Cairo of more than 2,000 women who made political speeches and vowed continued effort to boycott the English and English goods. These women also instituted the street manifestations; and a parade of women, many of them still veiled, is no longer a novelty, nor is it unusual even to see a woman standing in a motor car haranguing a crowd.

All this means that, lifted out of the norm, women are capable of supreme sacrifice and of unflagging, undeviating concentration for an idea. It explains the tremendous gulf that has been bridged from the Oriental "shut-in" to the modern militant.

When Zaghlul Pasha—President of the Egyptian Delegation, was permitted to re-



AN EGYPTIAN LADY WEARING THE HABARA

(The headdress and veil worn by upper-class Moslem women)

turn from his first banishment, Egypt roared itself hoarse with a hundred-mile cheer from Alexandria to Cairo. The train was held back by human hands, so great were the crowds all along the railroad. The *Egyptian Mail* on April 6, 1921, described the event in Alexandria under the heading "A Record Ovation for Lord Zaghlul":

Behind a cyclist detachment came a procession of motor cars. The first, a closed car (Aly Bey Fahmy's if I am not mistaken), was completely covered with flowers and inside a veiled lady acknowledged the frenzied cheering of the crowd, saluting with both hands. She was Madame Zaghlul Pasha.

Many other Egyptian ladies followed, peering out from their cars at the amazing scene. There were detachments of Boy Scouts. There were groups of Girl Guides, in dark blue dresses, white floating veils, and red ties.

In Alexandria a dance was also given in honor of Madame Zaghlul Pasha, at the house of Gafar Fakhri Bey, to which many ladies of the highest Egyptian families were invited.

These extracts show the changing times—ladies appearing in public scenes and at a dance with men other than their relatives, and also Boy Scouts and Girl Guides penetrating to Africa.

The power back of the Zaghlulist party to-day is Sophia Hanem [Lady Sophia], the wife of Egypt's banished leader. She was married in 1896 at the age of twenty to Saad Pasha, as he is affectionately known, and is many years his junior. On December 23, 1921, she grasped the falling mantle of her husband and draped it over the habara and the veil. She said:

"Saad Pasha lives—is here—so long as I, his wife, am here."

Men, as well as women, throughout Egypt look upon the Zaghlul home in Cairo, popularly called the "House of the Nation," as the Mecca of their hopes and aspirations. Streams of people call upon Sophia Hanem, dozens, hundreds, daily. She has brushed aside conventions and customs when the need has arrived. Her drawing-room is filled with women from all classes, even the peasants. In the big hall of her home she receives delegations of men—she, a high-born Moslem—men from the provinces, and from the big cities. Standing, with her head draped but *unveiled*, she hears what they have to say; and then—another tradition shattered—she talks to them! She pours hope and enthusiasm into them with a quiet dynamic eloquence that often reduces her audience to tears.



MME. NIFT RATIB PASHA

(An indefatigable worker and member of the "Ladies' Waf'd" and "La Femme Nouvelle")

From her radiate the activities of the "Independents." The following are some of the women around her:

Mme. Nift Ratib Pasha is a member of the "Ladies' Waf'd" and of the executive committee of "La Femme Nouvelle," and is an indefatigable worker. One has only to look at that patient, determined face with the full lips and almond eyes of the true Egyptian to realize that her contributions to the women's activities are generous and tireless. She is wearing the *habara*, the conventional head covering of the upper class, which is always black. In this case it is of charmeuse satin, but usually is of taffeta silk. She has pulled down the white chiffon veil, or *boukra*, from its proper position over the nose. Quite often now the gauzy veil is draped below the nose, or even below the mouth, and the *boukra* is fast becoming a symbol only. Even these progressive women, however, are in no hurry to abolish it altogether, as they are essentially daughters of Eve and know that the veil is very becoming.

This I realized in the photograph of Mme. Hoda Schraoui Pasha, which gives very little idea of her beauty, the satin com-



MLLE. MARY MARCOS HANNA

plexion, the large expressive eyes, and the refined though full curves of her face. Her hair is dressed flat on top and full behind, for the best effect of the *habara*, which she has just removed. Mme. Hoda Schraoui belongs to the exclusive Pashdom, out of the seclusion of which her convictions have forced her into a position of prominence in Egyptian affairs. Her unusual charm and executive ability have made her not only president of the "Ladies' Wafd" but honorary president of "La Femme Nouvelle," which is an organization of several hundred Egyptian women, Moslem and Copts, whose aim is not political but social in the larger sense. It furthers the welfare work of the nation and introduces modern methods of dealing with education, sanitation, hygiene, and other problems of the country.

As one looks at the face of Mlle. Aida Marcos Hanna one cannot realize that behind this smiling exterior is a heavy heart. Her uncle and her fiancé are both exiled with Zaghlul Pasha. Mlle.

Aida and her sister Mary are daughters of Marcos Hanna Bey,¹ a prominent lawyer, and nieces of Sinnot Bey Hanna the exile, whose wife and nineteen-year-old daughter, Camille, I first met at the Boutros Ghali Palace in Faggala. They are always dressed in the height of the French fashion. Being Copts—that is, native Christians—they do not wear "the veil," which is a distinctive Moslem custom. In a gentle, determined way, they are all active in welfare as well as political work. They speak wonderful English, and it was a relief to all concerned to give my sketchy and overworked French a rest. Indeed,

MME. HODA SCHRAOUI PASHA
(Honorary president of "La Femme Nouvelle," and elected president of the "Ladies' Wafd")

as French is the language of polite society among the Caireans and Alexandrians, a knowledge of the language is essential. These women all speak Arabic, and many of them Italian and English, although English is not popular among the Zaghlulists.

Mme. Sophia is the wife of Youssef Bey Boutrous Ghali, who is a member of the Men's Independent Wafd. She is young, beautiful, an heiress, and a true-blooded Egyptian. She is wearing the *habara* but has dropped the veil, which can be seen hanging at one side. Her attire is the latest thing from Paris, silk tricot blouse, satin slippers and all. She is active in the welfare work of "La Femme Nouvelle," and she and her sister-in-law work for Egypt's Independence. They are both staunch supporters of Saad Pasha and labored unsparingly during



MLLE. AIDA MARCOS HANNA

¹"Bey" corresponds somewhat to the English title of "Sir," as "Pasha" does to "Lord."



the recent English boycott, which was a decided contributing factor in demonstrating that the self-determination of the Nationalists was no passing whim.

To a careless world the struggle going on in Egypt is a "political agitation," for England to handle. To the "agitators" it is a life-and-death affair.

It cannot be said that the two enthusiastic foreign wives of Copts, Mme. Wacyf Boutrous Ghali and Mme. Riad Fanous are leaders in the modern woman's movement; they are both lieutenants. They do not even belong to the Ladies' Delegation, or the Central Committee of "La Femme Nouvelle," the leaders of which are all true Egyptians and most of them Moslems.

The sympathies of Hilda Fanous seem absolutely merged with the country into which she has married. Her husband, a native of Cairo, spent many years in America studying medicine. It was in Baltimore, the city of her birth, that Hilda at the age of fifteen first met Dr. Riad Fanous, while he was a student at Johns Hopkins University; and a few years later she married

him in spite of opposition. Apparently she has seen no reason to regret her decision. Her father, Henry Hamm, still lives in Baltimore, and her brother Albert was in the aviation section of the United States Army during the war, while Hilda responded to the call of England and the Allies. In

common with all these modern women, she qualified for nursing and stuck to the hospital work for over two years. She learned French in the convent at Baltimore, and now has added Italian and Arabic. She said to me:

"Please correct the idea in America that we are barbarians, or even worse.

"Two ladies from Ohio forced themselves upon Mme. Zaghlul Pasha yesterday, when she was receiving her friends. They brushed past the astonished servant at the door, stood in the middle of the reception room, looked at us as though we were a circus, felt of the sofa pillows and window draperies to see if they were silk, and asked Mme. Zaghlul Pasha, 'How many wives has your husband?' They seemed incredulous when she replied, after a stunned silence at the

rude ness of it, 'My husband has no wife but me.' 'Have you any bathrooms?' was the next question, after they had exclaimed several times that they thought all Egyptians had as many wives as they could afford. They asked all kinds of rude questions, and seemed to have no idea of the courtesy required in polite society. I was ashamed of the country of my birth."

Another Modernist leader is Mme. Amina, wife of Dr. Mahmoud Bey Sidky, who has cast aside her *habara* for a trip into Italy where the photograph reproduced here was taken. Most of the wealthy women of



MME. YOUSSEF BEY GHALI



MME. WACYF BOUTROUS GHALI



MME. RIAD FANOUS



MLLE. SENNIA RIAZ PASHA
(In Circassian costume)

Cairo and Alexandria go to Europe in the summer. They pack away the silk and chiffon symbols and step out of *purdah*, and do not return to *la vie grotesque* until they land again upon their native shores.



THE FIRST WOMAN'S DEMONSTRATION EVER
HELD IN EGYPT
(In March, 1919, as a protest against the "massacres,"
martial law, and Zaghlul Pasha's arrest)

Mme. Bey Sidky is a young matron, the mother of two babies. She has a charming home in Old Cairo, of the more modest type, and does much work in the larger field of women's activities represented by "La Femme Nouvelle," of which she is president. This means she carries responsibilities of the same relative importance as those of the president of our General Federation of Women's Clubs, or of the president of the National Woman Suffrage Association in the "piping days" before the enfranchising amendment.

The crowning beauty in this country of beautiful women is Mlle. Sennia Riaz Pasha, here shown in Circassian costume. The amateur photographer has done his best to destroy the luscious oriental charm of this daughter of Cleopatra—the creamy skin, and languorous, yet intelligent, large eyes that look at one through heavy lashes which have been liberally touched with kohl, thereby extending the almond shape of the eyes. It is enticing. This gorgeous young woman belongs to a wealthy and powerful family, and combines brains with beauty. She is active in the "younger set," but finds much time to do the club and welfare work and even to assist in the dangerous political manifestations which the women have staged in the last two years.

Egypt wants to be free—free not only from England, but from the shackles of ignorance and superstition. That is why there is a Zaghlulist party and why there are women leaders. They give their money, energy, and heart to their Egypt; and they rally to the support of the standards forced from the hands of their exiles—for "men may come and men may go," but the ideal goes on forever. In the words of Mme. Zaghlul Pasha: "The Egyptians are like their desert sand. You can walk over it and over it—but one day it rises up in a mighty storm and sweeps over you, and there is again only sand and the desert."



AMINÀ, WIFE OF DR.
MAHMOUD BEY SIDKY
(Active president of "La
Femme Nouvelle")

A TARIFF TO RAISE REVENUE AND REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT

ANALYSIS OF THE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE FORDNEY-MCCUMBER BILL

BY EDWARD NELSON DINGLEY

[Mr. Dingley, who writes the article presented herewith, offers as strong a general defense of the pending Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill as anyone has yet made. This measure is likely to have an important part in the issues of the national elections of November 7. Mr. Dingley's father, who was long an honored member of Congress from Maine, was known for many years as an authority upon the tariff, and as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee gave his name to the Republican Tariff of 1897. The writer of the present article, like his father, has spent his life-time in journalism and politics. He grew up in Maine, graduated at Yale college, spent some time in newspaper work in Boston, and then made his home in Michigan and later in New York. He now lives in Washington, D. C. He was clerk of the Ways and Means Committee in 1898 and 1899, was associated with the Republican National Committee, and has also served as a tariff expert with the Ways and Means Committee of the present House. We publish this article, not as one written from a detached and impartial standpoint, but as the work of an avowed supporter of the general principles and proposals of the pending bill.—THE EDITOR]

NEVER before in the history of tariff legislation has quite so much chicanery, adroitness and deception been used by its historic enemies, to defeat the principles and purposes of adequate protection to American industries and American wage-earners. True, every protective-tariff measure proposed has been assailed by theorists and free-trade politicians. The principle of protection has been declared unconstitutional, a promoter of trusts, and class legislation. Despite the conspicuous record of American history under periods of protection, the assault against the principle has been renewed with furious ferocity and dazzling deception. The line of attack this year is summed up in the extravagant phrase: "A bill to raise the cost of living, to hamper foreign trade, and to retard the return of prosperity."

Senate Amendments

Fundamentally, the two tariff measures (the House and Senate bills) were essentially identical when sent to a conference committee consisting of three Republican Senators and three Republican Representatives, and two Democratic Senators and two Democratic Representatives. Both aimed "to provide revenue, to regulate commerce with foreign countries, to encourage industries of the United States, and other purposes."

These have been the aims of every protective tariff bill ever introduced into Congress, and every protective tariff bill ever passed by Congress. It is neither surprising nor unusual that the Senate amended and added to the House bill, to a great degree making a new measure. This was the case in 1890, in 1894, in 1897 and in 1913. Particularly was this the case when the low tariff or "revenue tariff" bills were introduced and passed in 1894 and 1913. Examination of the records shows that the so-called Wilson-Gorman tariff of 1894 was so altered by the Senate that President Cleveland refused to sign it. The Underwood-Simmons low tariff of 1913 emerged from the Senate with between 1200 and 1500 amendments. The approximately 2000 amendments (many merely clerical and unimportant) to the Fordney bill made by the Senate, should occasion no unfavorable comment save from those who insidiously seek to destroy the whole fabric of protection.

A Matter of Compromise

No tariff bill, either in the House or Senate, has ever pleased everyone. No tariff ever will. The question of rates divides opinions, and results in compromise. In fact, all legislation is a matter of compromise, more or less. The tariff simply harmonizes with the rules of legislative procedure. Some talk about a "scientific"

tariff law, as if such a name could attach to any legislation. Can there be a "scientific" tariff law? Can there be "scientific" labor laws? Can there be "scientific" prohibition laws? Can there be any sort of a "scientific" law, so long as legislation and law-making are the result of compromise, adjustment of judgments and opinions, based on the most accurate information obtainable? Human laws reflect majority opinions and majority experiences.

It will be noticed in all tariff discussions that the theory of "a tariff for revenue only" or "a tariff devoid of protection" gives way always, when any particular interest in any free-trade or low-tariff section of the country is affected by unfair foreign competition. This destroys the theory of a "scientific" tariff. "Trade at home" is the slogan of every citizen loyal to his city and community. Yet is not the principle of protection precisely the same slogan applied to the nation?

Plausible Protests

Superhuman efforts have been made to kill or at least cripple the Fordney-McCumber tariff. These efforts come from theorists who never had practical business experience; from so-called internationalists who have loaned money to European citizens or corporations and have lost 50 per cent. of their Americanism; from large importers who have more interest in foreign than in American production; and from many department stores which make large profits on low-priced foreign imported merchandise.

Cunning and clever arguments have been advanced by these four classes of citizens. They are plausible but not new. They are simply clothed in new garments labeled "abnormal times," "creditor nation," "we can not sell unless we buy," "foreign trade is necessary," and "the period of splendid isolation is gone." Every one of these glittering statements is the old free-trade argument all dressed up for parade.

It is true there have been pages of protests against the enactment of a protective-tariff law at this time; but back of these protests in every instance have been lurking some special interests. If the principle of protection was sound in 1890 and 1897 and 1909, it is sound now. The World War did not change human nature or alter the economic and financial laws developed out of human experience. The main battle-ground is just where it was in former years. Every battle-

field for American interests and American welfare is labeled "Independence Field."

American and European Valuation

When it comes to a comparison of rates between the House and Senate bills, there is a difference of opinion. Representative Fordney claimed that the House ad valorem rates were the lower. Senator McCumber claimed that the Senate ad valorem rates were the lower. Since the House rates were imposed on the American valuation plan, and the Senate rates on the foreign valuation plan, rates in the House bill were lower, necessarily, than corresponding rates in the Senate bill; but the amount of protection was designed to be the same. If a foreign article costs 50 cents and a similar American article costs \$1, obviously an ad valorem duty of 20 per cent. on the American valuation must be twice that, or 40 per cent., on the foreign valuation, to give the same degree of protection. Percentages mean nothing until the base is fixed; and often there is confusion, especially when applied to protection. Free-traders and other theorists talk about high percentages in tariff rates as "excessive taxation" without once considering the most important factor—the assessed valuation. It is precisely the same when considering municipal taxes. A tax of 20 per cent. on one-half valuation or assessment is no higher than a tax of 10 per cent. on full valuation or assessment.

Yet it is immaterial, from the point of view of protection as a principle. Only about one-third of the tariff rates in either House or Senate bill are ad valorem, the other two-thirds being specific, or compound, that is, both ad valorem and specific. There is no way of determining the average ad valorem rate of the one-third until the valuation of the imported articles is determined. The only essential thing is this: Are the rates high enough to give American producers and manufacturers a competitive chance in the domestic or home markets, with similar foreign-made goods?

Home versus Foreign Manufactures

In other words, the whole tariff question may be concentrated into this one query: Shall the people of the United States produce and manufacture for themselves, or permit foreign countries to produce and manufacture for them? Experience and common sense demonstrate that it has been

and will be impossible for producers and manufacturers in this country to sell domestic merchandise in the American markets in competition with similar foreign merchandise, unless the cost of production is substantially the same. Since labor, as a rule, constitutes from 60 to 80 per cent. of the cost of production in this country, it follows that the American labor cost must come down to the foreign level to meet competition. American efficiency never has and never can bridge the chasm. Hence the vital question is the American standard of living for the army of American wage-earners.

Often it is said that the wage-earners do not receive their proportion of the advantage to be gained through a program of protection. In some instances, perhaps, this may be true; but in the long run the wage level tends to adjust itself, especially in prosperous and normal times, when the demand exceeds the supply. The real purpose of the principle of protection is not to give a special advantage to a few industries, but to create domestic conditions that will give American producers and manufacturers at least an equal opportunity with foreign competitors in the home markets. The Fordney-McCumber tariff as it emerged from conference committee last month embodied these principles and purposes.

Will the Cost of Living Be Affected?

As has been the case always when a protective-tariff bill becomes a law, enemies of the Fordney-McCumber bill talk most about the coming "increase in cost of living." "How is this going to affect the consumers' pocketbook?" is asked. One Senator in debate claimed the "extra cost of living to the consumers" would be \$3,000,000,000. Another Senator guessed the "increased tax" would be \$21,000,000,000. Obviously there is a wide margin between these two sums, demonstrating clearly that both were guesses. Neither Senator had anything on which to base these figures. Furthermore, neither guess is correct.

Senator Walsh of Massachusetts made the most startling computation ever presented to the Senate and the country. He offered a list of twenty-one staple articles consumed by the masses, including flour, corn, oatmeal, potatoes, meats, cheese, eggs, etc.; ascertained what the average annual consumption of these articles has

been; found out the proposed increase in the Fordney-McCumber rates over the Underwood rates (1913), and multiplied the annual consumption by the increase of rates, concluding that the sum of all these multiplications (amounting to \$21,000,000,000) would be the increased tariff "tax" on the consuming public!

Obviously this is a totally misleading computation and false conclusion. It is based on the ancient but long-disproved assumption that the tariff is a tax added to the domestic market price of an article, in exact proportion to the import duty.

Precisely this same claim of "increased cost of living" was made by the enemies of protection in 1897 and 1909, when protection laws were enacted. Some of the anti-protection or low-tariff newspapers and periodicals had spasms; but the remarkable thing about it all is that none of these calamities predicted ever came to pass. The retail prices of the average food products between 1897 and 1907 either remained stationary, or both advanced and declined very slightly. At the same time, the level of wages advanced, so that the average wage-earner was far better off in 1907 than in 1897. Between 1907 and 1912, prices advanced a little more, due, not to the tariff, but to general world conditions. However, wages advanced correspondingly.

It is sarcastically stated that "the tariff has been hailed as a wonderful nostrum that may be expected to prevent the wage of the American workman from being lowered, and at the same time guarantee the American manufacturer a materially higher return for his product, while the minority is claiming that this era of super-protection will be created through a tax of billions laid on the backs of the consuming public. The cost of living is going up. The question is: How much?"

A protective tariff never has been and never can be "a wonderful nostrum" to raise wages or guarantee higher returns. A protective tariff, as a principle, simply undertakes to give the American producer, agriculturist or manufacturer, an opportunity to compete successfully with similar foreign producers. Home competition levels prices under the law of supply and demand.

Is the cost of living going up when the Fordney-McCumber tariff takes effect? Do higher tariff rates necessarily mean higher costs? They did not after the Dingley tariff of 1897; they did not after the Payne-

Aldrich tariff of 1909. It was "ancient stuff" for a Senator to declare that the proposed new tariff bill "placed a tax on everything from the cradle to the grave." This was claimed twenty-five and thirteen years ago, in the very same Senate chamber,

	Corn	Wheat	Cattle	Cotton Cloth	Wire	Beef	Butter	Sugar
1898.....	.36	.98	93.50	5.2	1.9	5.5	15.0	5.00
1900.....	.41	.72	92.46	5.5	2.5	5.7	17.2	4.5
1905.....	.53	.89	93.86	5.7	2.2	5.5	16.4	4.1
1908.....	.65	.99	84.02	7.2	2.5	6.8	21.8	3.8

Under the tariff of 1909:

1909.....	.70	1.02	89.96	5.9	2.3	7.7	21.2	3.5
1911.....	.56	.93	87.70	7.2	2.3	8.7	21.7	4.1
1913.....	.59	.97	47.63	7.2	2.1	9.6	24.3	3.8

Free-traders and other theorists claim that a so-called high tariff increases the average prices of all imported (as well as similar domestic) articles to the extent of the tariff, thus making the tariff a tax on

on the stump, in party papers and in campaign literature.

What are the facts? Here are the annual average export prices of leading articles of domestic production under the tariff of 1897:

	Cotton Cloth	Wire	Beef	Butter	Sugar
1898.....	5.2	1.9	5.5	15.0	5.00
1900.....	5.5	2.5	5.7	17.2	4.5
1905.....	5.7	2.2	5.5	16.4	4.1
1908.....	7.2	2.5	6.8	21.8	3.8

the consumer, increasing the cost of living. What are the facts? Here are the average annual import prices of leading articles of merchandise imported into the United States:

	Cotton Cloth	Glass	Sheet Iron	Tin Plates	Herring	Sugar	Wool Cloth	Dress Goods
1901.....	13.8	12.2	3.3	5.4	3.2	7.50	2.26	16.
1904.....	14.5	11.9	3.5	2.2	2.7	6.58	2.04	23.
1906.....	15.8	11.5	3.8	4.4	2.8	7.47	2.14	24.
1909.....	16.5	11.4	3.3	6.5	2.7	6.80	2.30	21.
1912.....	18.9	11.1	3.8	4.9	4.3	7.79	2.81	21.

Thus it will be seen that the "enormous tax" on the American consumers because of protective law, did not fall on their shoulders in either protective era. There were slight advances in some staple products, but declines in others; and import duties did not increase import prices to any

appreciable extent. In some cases prices of imported goods declined, despite the tariff.

Prices under the Tariff of 1913

Now let us see what the trend of prices was under the low tariff of 1913:

Average Import Prices:

	Cotton Cloth	Glass	Sheet Iron	Tin Plates	Herring	Sugar	Wool Clothing	Dress Goods
1913.....	18.6	12.0	4.3	5.1	3.4	8.24	2.18	23.0
1916.....	23.5	9.5	11.1	7.6	7.9	7.86	3.70	28.0
1918.....	41.5	25.7	14.7	16.0	8.4	16.57	4.82	54.0
1920.....	35.4	27.3	10.0	14.7	14.5	12.49	12.59	51.0

Prices of Domestic Products:

	Corn	Wheat	Cattle	Cotton Cloth	Wire	Beef	Butter	Sugar
1913.....	.59	.97	47.63	6.6	2.1	9.6	24.3	3.8
1916.....	.81	1.24	111.72	12.13	2.9	10.6	26.6	4.9
1918.....	1.84	2.37	68.51	28.7	5.1	14.1	38.6	6.9
1920.....	1.49	2.73	126.05	29.06	5.8	14.2	58.0	10.3

Thus it will be seen that under the tariff of 1913, a low tariff, prices advanced steadily and to an unprecedented degree. If the theory of "high cost of living due to a

protective tariff" amounts to anything, prices should have advanced between 1897 and 1908 far more than between 1913 and 1920. Exactly the contrary was true,

demonstrating clearly that a tariff, either high or low, has nothing to do with prices, primarily.

Price Advances Not Justified by the New Tariff

There are two factors that determine prices: supply and demand and the volume of credit currency in which prices are measured. The tariff is not a tax; higher tariff rates do not mean higher costs. Then what becomes of the widespread claim that "the cost of living will go up" because of the Fordney-McCumber tariff? It is a false alarm in all respects; yet some importers and free-traders are playing that trick already. The Fordney-McCumber tariff will not justify an advance in prices; remember that.

A contributor to a popular magazine writes: "The essence of protective duties is that the price of the domestic supply will be raised by the amount of the customs levied on the imports." This has been proved false by the figures given already.

"Perhaps there are no two staple commodities, in normal times, which have responded more faithfully to this rule than wool and sugar," declares the writer referred to. Let us see about this. The protective tariff of 1897 imposed a duty of 1.685 cents per pound on 96-degree sugar, this being the grade of most of the sugar coming from Cuba, to be refined in the United States. The refiners were given a differential of .035 cents per pound. The tariff of 1909 gave the same protection. This duty protected the American beet sugar industry. Then it was claimed that consumers of sugar would be compelled to pay a large additional tax for their sugar, due to protection. Sugar declined in retail price from 5 cents per pound in 1898 to 3.8 cents per pound in 1908.

The protective tariffs of 1897 and 1909 imposed an import duty of from 10 cents on raw wool on the skin to 33 cents on scoured wool, with compensatory duties on woolen goods; yet the price of coarse wool declined from 36 cents in January, 1905, to 31 cents in January, 1912; medium wool declined from 35 cents in 1905 to 32 cents in 1912; and fine wool from 34 cents in 1905 to 30 cents in 1912.

These figures illustrate again how loose and inaccurate (to say nothing else) are the statements of many of the theoretical and pedantic writers on the tariff. Prices of

all-wool fabrics were marked up after the tariffs of 1897 and 1909, and are being marked up now; but these tricks are simply to fool the people. No advance in woolen goods this fall will be justified by the Fordney-McCumber tariff. Every yard of woolen goods used in garments this fall and winter was bought last winter and spring.

The Sugar Duty

The statement that a duty of 1.765 cents per pound on 96-degree sugar, after deducting the 20 per cent. Cuban reciprocity discount, will add a burden of \$587,000,000 to the American consumers of sugar, is untrue, and a trick to frighten the people. Practically the same thing was stated in 1897 when the duty on sugar was made 1.685 cents per pound on 96-degree foreign product.

Continental United States and outlying possessions provide about one-half of the sugar the Americans consume. The other half comes from Cuba and other countries, mostly Cuba. Cuba has a preferential discount of 20 per cent. on all sugar coming into the United States. The import duty of 1897 gave the American beet-sugar industry its first start. Then came Cuban reciprocity which, under the low rate in the Underwood law, reduced the duty to about one cent per pound. This dealt the beet-sugar industry a heavy blow. Large amounts of American capital were invested in Cuban sugar plantations after reciprocity. These American investors want raw or Cuban sugar at a low price, to be refined in the United States.

The whole question involved in this sugar tariff is this: Shall the United States undertake to develop its beet-sugar industry, employ American capital and labor and enable American farmers to grow sugar beets? Shall this country undertake to supply at least one-half of its sugar requirements, or permit the industry to die? Free-traders and all interested in cheap raw sugar say we cannot produce even one-half the sugar we need. It was said in 1890 that it would be impossible for the United States to manufacture its own supply of tin plate; but it did, by means of a protective tariff. If the United States produces one-half of its sugar requirements, it will be able to prevent a monopoly and extortionate prices. The beet-sugar industry already has saved the American consumers of sugar millions of dollars. With the exception of the period

of the World War, the price of sugar declined from 1897 to 1921. The protection of the war saved the beet-sugar industry in this country from total destruction. The Emergency Tariff raising the duty to 1.65 cents per pound after deducting Cuban reciprocity discount, gave the industry another chance. The price of sugar will not advance because of adequate protection to the American beet-sugar industry.

Raw Wool, Suits and Overcoats

Wool is another article low-tariff and anti-protection citizens parade as an evidence of the iniquity of the new tariff. The history of a tariff on wool shows that under the stimulus, not only has the production of American wool increased, but the price of wool has declined. No protective tariff on wool ever raised the price of wool or the price of woolen goods.

Free imported wool in the tariff of 1804 and again in the tariff of 1913, did not make wool or woolen goods any cheaper. Free wool simply depleted the American flocks, reduced the quantity of American mutton, destroyed the business of sheep-raising and increased unemployment. It is claimed that the duties on wool in the Fordney-

McCumber tariff will increase the cost of suits and overcoats. It will do nothing of the sort; and any raise in the price of woolen suits or overcoats on account of the new tariff, will be wholly unjustified—a plain graft.

William Goldman, a New York man, and president of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of America, told the Ways and Means Committee early in the spring of 1921, that an increase in the duty on wool or woolen goods would not add to the cost of suits or overcoats, because domestic competition would keep down the price.

Prices Under the Emergency Tariff

It is not true that "the essence of protective duties is that the price of the domestic supply will be raised by the amount of customs levied on the imports." There are no figures, official or unofficial, to substantiate any such statement. The figures prove the contrary. The Emergency Tariff of a year ago raised the import duties of many agricultural products; yet within the year the retail prices of all these domestic articles in the home markets have declined. Here are some of the figures as of August, 1922:

	<i>August average price 1922</i>		<i>1921 average range</i>
Wheat.....	\$1.23	\$3.50	to \$1.79
Corn.....	.82½	2.31	.94
Oats.....	.44½	1.50	.60
Flour.....	6.50	16.25	9.00
Beef (bbl.).....	14.50	28.00	20.00
Sugar.....	.065 @ 7c	.23	.08
Butter.....	.34 @ .36	.77	.51½
Eggs.....	.27 @ .30	.89	.42½
Wool (second).....	1.10 @ 1.20	2.00	.80
Steel.....	37.50	65.00	43.00

A Fair Chance for American Industries

The essence of protection is to give all American industries an opportunity to compete in the home markets with foreign producers. Are not American producers and manufacturers entitled to protection against "unfair competition"? The heart of the problem is, shall the United States be independent industrially? An adequate duty on imported gloves, stockings, on undergarments, on hats, on millinery, etc., does not mean that the consumer must pay more for similar domestic articles; but if Americans insist upon wearing foreign imported articles, why should they not pay for the privilege? Every hundred dollars' worth of foreign merchandise imported and

consumed by the American people, displaces that amount of American merchandise, and increases unemployment. Why should American manufacturers who invest their money and pay taxes here, be compelled to sit by and witness the capture of the American markets by foreign producers?

It is said: "There is nothing more patent, as long as exchange is the basis of world commerce, than that we cannot sell unless we buy." As well might it be said that we cannot buy unless we sell. It is arguing in a circle, getting nowhere. In fact, the statement is not true, if it is meant that we must buy as much as we sell. From 1897 to 1912, under protection, the United States sold more than it bought—the bal-

ance of trade was in our favor. The average annual excess of sales over purchases was two billion dollars. We buy under all tariffs, protective and otherwise; and an increase in import duties has never stopped imports or our purchases. In 1899, two years after the Dingley tariff, our imports were \$697,000,000. In 1907, eight years later, under increased duties, our imports were \$1,434,000,000. There was the same proportionate increase in foreign trade and imports under the Payne tariff of 1909. These figures prove conclusively that it is not necessary to let down the bars in order to increase our foreign trade or our imports or exports—to lower the dykes and invite a foreign flood so as to increase our exports. A tariff has little or nothing to do with our foreign trade.

Now it is said that we are a "creditor nation," and for that reason must not raise the tariff duties, but lower them, in order to permit European countries to pay us eleven billions due from the World War. Some "patriots" fear that European debtors may not be able to pay; we must receive pay in goods. There is just about as much sense in that theory as there would be in the assumption that the coal merchant A, from whom B (a woolen merchant) buys coal, could not be paid unless A bought from B woolen goods equal in value to the price of coal supplied B. In the most primitive condition of society, when there was no conception of money of account, banking or commerce, such transactions, of course, were necessary. That a modern banker should believe international commerce in this age must be conducted by such elementary methods, is difficult to understand.

The Question of Raw Materials

The "raw-material" plea has been over-worked. Is there any such thing as "raw material" except the trees in the forest, and the mineral in the earth? The moment labor has been exerted, or capital applied, it becomes a finished product. What is raw material to one man is the finished product to the next man. There is neither principle nor justice in demanding protection for one's finished product, and demanding the finished product of the other man free of duty, on the theory that the second article is "raw material."

Vegetable oils are used in making soaps; but also they are the finished product of another industry. Ferro alloys, used in

the manufacture of steel, are found to be in fair abundance in the United States. They were mined and produced in the war. Why should the new American industries be destroyed on the theory that such alloys are "raw materials"? The average amount of manganese metal used in a ton of steel is 15 pounds, or three-quarters of one cent! The proposed tariff on manganese may raise the price of a ton of steel 24.3 cents. It may raise the price of a farm implement containing 100 pounds of steel 12 mills.

Prior to the war, metallic magnesite was not produced in the United States. Now there are six separate companies. Ferro-chrome, ferrosilicon, and all other ferro alloys are war products, and deserve protection.

Why should not the makers of American machinery be protected? Why should foreigners make our cream separators, our machine tools, and our textile machines? We imported such machines valued at \$11,100,000 in the year 1921 and at \$9,400,000 in 1922.

Have We a "Surplus" for Foreign Markets?

It is urged that we must have foreign markets wherein to place our surplus. Is it not strange to talk of a "surplus" when during the last two fiscal years we imported 65,000,000 bushels of wheat, \$162,000,000 worth of wheat flour, 99,000,000 pounds of copper, 179,000,000 pounds of cotton, \$5,000,000 worth of cotton manufacture, \$34,000,000 worth of cotton laces, \$186,000,000 worth of other manufactures of cotton, \$74,000,000 worth of iron and steel manufactures, \$90,000,000 worth of meats and dairy products, \$27,000,000 worth of glass, \$17,000,000 worth of toys, 600,000,000 pounds of wool and more than \$105,000,000 worth of wool manufactures? Approximately 50 per cent. of these imports were competitive. Surely we could have made a large proportion of these imports. During the last two fiscal years, we have imported \$6,262,000,000 worth of foreign merchandise and products. At least one-half was competitive.

It is said that the object of the permanent tariff is to raise the prices at which American manufacturers sell their goods, and that the tariff bill will fail unless these results are achieved. Nothing of the sort. No protective tariff ever caused a general rise in the prices of domestic manufactured goods. The facts of tariff and economic history prove this.

"Flexible Tariff" and "Foreign Valuation"

The "flexible tariff" plan is designed to take the tariff out of politics, and lodge with the President (after investigation by the Tariff Commission) authority to raise or lower any rate not to exceed 50 per cent., the new rate to go into effect thirty days after proclamation by the President. One objection offered to this plan is: It is a delegation of legislative power to the President, which, it is claimed, is unconstitutional. This is a fine point, and if the plan is adopted, may be taken to the Supreme Court for adjudication. Also objection is raised on the ground that it deprives the House of its constitutional right to raise revenue, and makes permanent an uncertainty as to what the tariff rate may be six months or a year hence.

One of the differences between the House and the Senate was the plan of assessing ad valorem duties—the American or the foreign valuation. The House rates were framed on the American-valuation plan, on the theory that it would tend to remove undervaluations, would impose the same rate of duties against all countries, increase the revenue, and call for lower ad valorem rates. The Senate rates were framed on the old foreign-valuation plan, in the belief that any radical change in the system would result in administrative confusion.

The differences were settled in conference by giving the President authority to substitute American valuation for foreign valuation whenever necessary to equalize ascertained differences in costs of production at home and abroad; but an increase in rates was prohibited upon any article so assessed on American instead of on foreign valuation.

Also there is a new feature giving the President discretionary power to impose

additional duties or prohibition upon imports from any country discriminating against the overseas commerce of the United States. This is a broadened application of the principle of the maximum-and-minimum provision of the Payne-Aldrich law, and is designed to reach every form of discrimination, direct or indirect, whereby American commerce is placed at a disadvantage as compared with the commerce of any foreign country.

The Fordney-McCumber tariff enlarges the scope and activity of the Tariff Commission, authorizing it to establish and maintain an office at the port of New York, to issue subpensas and to invoke the aid of any district or territorial court of the United States or of the District of Columbia in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence.

It is estimated that the annual revenue from the Fordney-McCumber law will be approximately \$400,000,000. This is more than the annual average for many years, but is somewhat lower than the framers of the House hoped for. Obviously the receipts from customs will depend upon the volume of dutiable merchandise imported. These imports will increase as the purchasing power of the American people increases. In turn, this purchasing power will be determined by the uninterrupted operation of American industries and employment of American wage-earners.

Despite all efforts to "take the tariff out of politics," the Fordney-McCumber tariff promises to be the leading issue in the approaching Congressional election. For this reason, the proposed tariff should be studied in the light of facts and history, not theoretical prejudice. Adequate protection has worked successfully in the past; it will work successfully in the future.



SUBSTITUTES FOR ANTHRACITE

BY GEORGE H. CUSHING

(Former editor of the *Black Diamond*)

IT is obviously impossible to suspend production of anthracite coal for five months and still have enough of that coal to go around. It is equally impossible this year to withdraw enough anthracite from sale in the Middle West to fill up the hole in the East caused by this five-months' strike. And, it is equally true that if the East, which has been burning anthracite exclusively in its house furnaces, wants to keep warm, it must use a substitute for anthracite. On that hypothesis, the gripping question in the East, particularly, becomes:

"What are the best substitutes for anthracite, and how should they be burned?"

Before going tersely into specifics, one broad generalization is necessary to a complete understanding of the subject. This will make all the rest of it simple and clear.

Burning coal completely is a matter of mixing two particles of oxygen from the air with each particle of carbon coming off the coal. This union does not take place *in* the coal. It takes place *on or near the surface* of the coal.

Anthracite is very hard. It releases its carbon, for union with the oxygen, slowly. That is why anthracite "holds fire" so well. That is why it is so nearly a perfect fuel for household use; it gives off its carbon at just about the rate of speed needed to keep an ordinary house warm.

Other fuels are more porous—especially coke and certain kinds of bituminous coal. They expose more particles of carbon to contact with the oxygen. They make a hotter fire. They are consumed more quickly. They will not "hold fire" so well.

Obviously, if you do not want them to burn so quickly and if you want them to "hold fire" better, you must keep the air away from them. Oxygen and carbon are like any other affinities; they will mix if thrown together.

Thus the essence of success in burning any kind of coal is to control the air supply. This is important for more reasons than the one given. The ordinary house chimney is only of a certain size. Most of those in the East were built to carry off only the volume of gas created by the deliberate burning of anthracite. To crowd into and through the chimney the larger volume of gas caused by the quicker burning of a more "flashy" coal, is sure to cause the same trouble as though two people should crowd through a door built only for one. The chimney becomes choked; soot will accumulate; smoke will pour out into the basement and through the house; and there will be danger of asphyxiation.

The Smaller Sizes of Anthracite

The best substitute for large pieces of anthracite is the small pieces of anthracite. I have "doctored" hundreds of anthracite burning furnaces. Generally, I have found that too much air was being allowed to pour through them. One way to check it is to close the ashpit door, depend on the air vent in the ashpit door, and open just a little the air slot in the feed door. A far better way is to shovel the larger pieces of coal into the furnace in layers and, on each layer, shovel some of the smaller sizes—pea coal or smaller—to fill in the chinks.

For banking the fire at night, use the "bug dust"—the smallest particles of anthracite available—and spread it on like a blanket in the center of the fire. Leave a rim of about two inches all around the furnace for the gases to escape. I have done that for five years with perfect results.

If the large sizes of anthracite are not available, but if the smaller sizes are, use them in the following way: Rake the live coals to the front of the furnace, and shovel the fine sizes into the hole in the

back in such a way that the live coal will be setting fire only to the edge of the fine coal. The slanting pile of small sizes will feed fresh coal down into the fire as rapidly as it can be burned.

Low-Volatile Coking Coal

If no anthracite is available, quite as good results can be obtained by selecting a low volatile coking coal. For the information of the layman, the volatile matter in coal is the gas which comes off, and which in some coals makes smoke. Anthracite coal has 12 per cent. or less of volatile matter. Semi-bituminous or smokeless coal—Pocahontas, New River, Tug River, Georges Creek, Broad Top, and Somerset County (Pa.) coal—contains from 15 per cent. to 21 per cent. of volatile matter. This very slight increase in volatile matter is not hard to handle. Also, these various coals are what we call coking coals. They automatically form a crust over the top of the fire. Air cannot easily get through this crust. Thus so soon as the crust forms, these coals shut off the draft and themselves slow down the fire until some one, wanting a hotter fire, breaks the crust with a slice bar or poker. This grade of coal is a perfect substitute for anthracite, if it is properly fired.

It should be fired differently from anthracite. Don't open the feed door and throw this coal in carelessly. Lower the shovel into the fire carefully and place the coal exactly, so as to build a cone in the center of the fire. Leave a rim around the edge for the air and gases to pass through. It will do no damage if this rim is partly closed by fresh coal. Only, make sure that the coal is not so thick around the edges as it is in the center.

Users of this coking coal should remember two things. It should be wet thoroughly before being put in the basement, otherwise the dust will fly. It is very soft and the pieces break up into dust easily. That makes no difference; the dust burns just as well as the lumps. It is likely to stick to the bottoms of shoes; you are likely to "track up" the house with it. I avoided this by getting a very large pair of carpet slippers or canvas overshoes, which I put over my shoes when about to fire the furnace and took off before going up-stairs. This coal should cost only a half to two-thirds what anthracite does. It contains more heat. It makes an excellent

smokeless fuel when you have learned how to burn it properly.

By-Product Coke

The second best substitute for anthracite is by-product coke. Personally, I prefer it to any fuel, but realize that it is a little harder to learn how to use it. By-product coke has, ordinarily, about the same percentage of volatile matter as anthracite—about 12 per cent. or less. But a ton of it will occupy half again as much space as anthracite. This means that it is more porous, and hence that there are more points for the air to attack. It will make a hotter fire than anthracite and will burn much faster and "hold fire" much less—unless the air is kept away from it.

Unless one has a Spencer heater—or one of the same type—he should not try to use the pea sizes of coke at all. Bad clinkers are unavoidable.

Coke of range size or larger can be burned in any furnace with excellent results by following these directions. If you have large-sized coke and some of the smaller sizes of anthracite or smokeless coal, fire the coke first and fill up the chinks with the smaller coal. By-product coke and smokeless mine-run coal make a perfect mixture.

If you are depending on coke alone, allow the air to pass freely through the furnace until you have half the heat you want. Then shut off the air as much as possible. Ordinarily a furnace "leaks" enough air to keep a coke fire going admirably.

This advice about coke is particularly pointed for this reason: After a coke fire is started, it continues much longer than any other fuel to gather momentum, so to speak. It will, for a considerable time, continue to burn faster and faster, even after the draft has been shut off. Therefore, shut off the draft long before you think—from your anthracite experience—that it is necessary. By following these rules, I have "held fire" with one small body of coke for 32 hours. I have, for months at a time, maintained an absolutely steady temperature in the furnace for six hours. I have kept the house at any desired temperature on two firings per day. Little air is the key of coke firing to obtain satisfactory results.

Oil as a Furnace Fuel

In these days, many suggestions are made about the use of oil. The equipment designed to burn oil is simple and very

effective. It gets rid of all the annoyance over ashes and the labor attendant upon stoking the furnace. Most users of oil are quite partial to it. I have never been ready to encourage the cost of installing these plants for two reasons: The first and most obvious one is the growing scarcity of oil and the constantly rising price. The second is that the burners are noisy and the steady flow of that penetrating sound through the house is likely to upset the steadiest nerves.

Soft Coal in the Home

It should be generally recognized that when we get beyond the list of fuels mentioned heretofore, we get into an extremely troublesome zone, as far as the householder is concerned. The more gas in the coal we have to burn the more our troubles increase by almost geometrical progression. But, by careful handling there are some coals which can be used to good advantage. In fact, in the West they are used to excellent advantage.

These other coals divide themselves into two groups: The first group includes the coals which contain from 21 to 28 per cent. volatile matter. West Virginia produces a considerable assortment of such coals. In England and in continental Europe these are referred to as steam coals. The second group contains 28 per cent. of volatile matter and more. In England and continental Europe these are referred to as gas coals.

The first group of coals can be burned in perhaps half of the ordinary house equipment, if the proper care is taken. The second group can be burned only in equipment especially designed for them.

If it is desired to burn what I call the medium volatile coals, the best way is to mix them with some other fuel. A mixture

of anthracite coal and medium volatile coal will produce excellent results if handled in the following way: Pile the anthracite in a triangle at the back of the furnace. Then pile the medium volatile coal in the hole which is left in the front of the furnace. My experience is that the air passes from the front to the back of the furnace and is deflected up the back wall. It will thus burn the anthracite first. The gases stewed off the soft coal will flow into the flame and be burned. By the time the fire gets into the bituminous, the gases have been driven off and the remaining carbon burns naturally. To make sure of getting this result, I recommend allowing the anthracite to burn for an hour before putting in the soft coal.

Where this medium volatile coal has to be burned alone, push the live coals to the back of the furnace and pile the fresh coal in the hole in the front. Fire half the amount desired in the first instance. An hour, or a little more, later put in the remainder of the coal.

The high volatile or gas coal must be burned in the same way, only greater precautions have to be taken. Also, when burning the gas coal, it is necessary to open the slide in the feed door just a little. Indeed this usually is good practice.

Two general precautions should always be kept in mind.

First: Never shake down the ashes of any coal—and particularly not of coke—until the fire shows red into the ash pit. Always leave a layer of an inch of ashes on the grate.

Second: Never fire any coal—with the exception of coke—more than three inches above the level of the bottom of the feed door. It is a pure waste of fuel.

As these instructions indicate, I do not believe that a furnace has to be built over to burn any ordinary grades of coal.



TWENTY YEARS OF LA FOLLETTE

BY AN ONLOOKER

THE Wisconsin Republican primaries held on September 5 brought out a vote equal to that cast in the State for Harding in the Presidential election two years ago. Of this great total of half a million ballots, Senator Robert M. La Follette received at least 70 per cent. in his contest for renomination. Such a result speaks for itself. Few men in American public life have received a like endorsement at the polls. Mr. La Follette's election in November for a fourth term in the Senate, beginning next March, is assured, and all records for length of service of Wisconsin Senators will be broken. Moreover, the Senate's own rules and precedents governing committee chairmanships and appointments, unless modified, will operate to place the senior Senator from Wisconsin in the highest places within the Senate's gift. He will begin his new term as the ranking Republican member of the Finance Committee, next to Senator Smoot, who becomes chairman on the retirement of Senator McCumber. After eighteen years' service in the Senate, the great prizes of that body are at last almost within his grasp.

Wisconsin in nearly every period of her history as a State has been worthily represented in the federal Senate—in the Civil War and Reconstruction days by Doolittle and Howe, who measured up well by the standards of the time, by the brilliant and magnetic Carpenter, and in later years by the shrewd and hard-headed Sawyer, the lone Democrat Vilas and the gifted Spooner, perhaps as able and as brilliant as any one of his predecessors. Yet not one of these men was sent to Washington for four successive terms; probably no one of them could have won by a mass vote of his fellow-citizens such triumphs as La Follette has repeatedly enjoyed.

Thousands of men and women who are voting this fall to send Wisconsin's senior Senator back to Washington for another

term were infants in arms when the great State fights were on which established the La Follette tradition and fixed in the popular mind the idea of what La Follettism connotes. The one thing that is never effaced or obscured in any discussion involving La Follette's political creed is that he is now and always what he was in the '90's—the unrelenting foe of Privilege. As he himself phrases it, the main issue from now to the crack of doom is, "the encroachment of the powerful few upon the rights of the many." Now Privilege is popularly figured as a monster of many heads—so many that the ordinary citizen can hardly envisage distinctly more than one or two at a time. But when it comes to head-hunting no one can compete with Wisconsin's "Bob." Trust him to see the manifold heads of Privilege, and then to follow the Irishman's motto: "If you see a head, hit it!"

Yet it may be doubted whether his mere record as a fighter outside the breastworks would by itself have won even for "Fighting Bob" so tremendous a victory. In Wisconsin, if not at Washington, Robert La Follette has a record for fighting at least one battle that led to definite, constructive results. A quarter of a century ago the railroad corporations had a hold on the State government of Wisconsin which boded as little good for the railroads themselves as for the commonwealth. The situation was perhaps never as bad as it had become in New Hampshire and California; but the best elements in the State's population were alive to the danger and knew that a housecleaning was sorely needed. It was then that Robert La Follette, a Madison lawyer who had been district attorney of Dane County, and had served three terms in Congress, took the leadership of a Statewide reform campaign. He was both courageous and resourceful. Defeat was his portion at first and he proved that he could take punishment and still come up

smiling—and talking! In season and out of season he preached the taxation of the railroads and the abolition of free passes. Wisconsin farmers were willing to lend an ear to anyone who would "show up the railroads." Among them the "Granger" movement of the '70's had made greatest headway. They felt they had grievances. La Follette convinced them that the railroad grip on the State could and should be loosed. By 1900 his repeated campaigns had borne fruit. He was elected Governor, with a Legislature pledged to taxation of railroad property and State rate regulation.

Then began an era in the State government of which no son or daughter of Wisconsin need be ashamed. The housecleaning was thorough, but gradually there was evolved a constructive legislative program that gave Wisconsin a rank among the States which she had never had before. As a pioneer in social legislation Wisconsin, in the first decade of the new century, took the place which fifty years before had been held by Massachusetts. Her laws became models for other States and were studied by observers from foreign lands. The best brains of the State were enlisted in administrative and legislative service. It was a time of expansion for the University of Wisconsin, and members of the faculty of that institution worked enthusiastically in the common cause. President Van Hise had been one of La Follette's classmates, both having been graduated from the University in 1879.

The Governor was reelected for a second and a third term. He developed unsuspected abilities as a politician. The machine that he built up had ramifications in every county. Never before had any Wisconsin Governor possessed an organization of such strength. Quay, Penrose, or Barnes might have envied it. Ex-Boss Keyes, of Madison, did envy it.

Much, if not all, of the Wisconsin progressive legislation enacted during the La Follette administration has stood the test of time. The people of the State have found it wholesome. Men like the late President Van Hise of the University, the late Charles McCarthy, and Professor John R. Commons had an important part in drafting it—men whose aid and counsel would be eagerly sought by any progressive State government dealing with similar problems. It is natural, however, that the only man in Wisconsin able to capitalize



SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
OF WISCONSIN

the popular approval of these measures for his own political advantage should be La Follette himself, and this is to be remembered when analyzing the causes of the La Follette "landslide" on September 5.

In 1905 the Legislature chose Governor La Follette United States Senator and after the enactment of the primary law he resigned his post as State executive and proceeded to Washington. There he has continued for eighteen years to impress the country as a far more picturesque and at the same time a far less useful personality than he had been at Madison. Seldom in that long period has he been in agreement for any length of time with any group of his colleagues, whether of Republican or Democratic affiliations. He did, however, work with Senators Dolliver and Beveridge and other Republicans in opposing the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill in 1910, and he was numbered among the "Bitter-Enders" in the Versailles Treaty debates. He has been identified with at least one constructive

measure, known as the La Follette Seamen's Bill, which he himself says was mainly the work of Andrew Furuseth.

Senator La Follette's part in famous filibusters and his seemingly unlimited powers of utterance have made him a gallery hero. Thus it has come about that his speeches in the Senate chamber more often seem addressed to the galleries than to his fellow-Senators. He is pointed out by the door-keepers as the Senator who holds the record for sustained flow of speech. Visitors to the Senate may at first be disappointed in the quality of his oratory. It is neither resonant nor liquid. The subject-matter is usually hard and unappealing—decidedly Gradgrindish, in truth. Yet the speaker does fix and hold the attention, however forbidding may be the burden of his talk. A gray-haired, stockily-built man, below medium height, La Follette at sixty-seven is more vigorous than many a man at fifty. In his college days he schooled himself as an orator, winning an interstate prize in oratory which at that time was regarded by college students as the highest attainable prize in the Middle West. Later he thought of fitting himself for the stage. Had he carried out that intention, possibly he would not have made as bad an actor as he now appears to some of his fellow-Senators.

Both in the Senate and on the stump in Wisconsin while campaigning for renomination, Mr. La Follette has bitterly assailed the Esch-Cummins Railroad Law, the Four-Power Treaty, the McCumber Tariff and the Ship Subsidy. Many of his colleagues look upon him as a chronic obstructionist. To this charge he retorts by "pointing with pride" to the record of his early advocacy of progressive measures which at first met with little or no favor in party conventions or in Congressional conclaves, but which, through the pressure of public opinion, have been enacted into law. Among these are: Railroad rate classification, Government valuation of railroads, Tariff Commission, direct election of United States Senators, publicity of campaign expenditures, regulation of telegraph and telephone rates, Department of Labor, eight-hour day for Government employees, Employers' Liability Act, parcels post, woman suffrage, Federal Inheritance Act, and Federal Trade Commission.

We are often told that the words Republican and Democrat no longer mean anything as political designations. In Wis-

consin, one would gather that they mean rather less than nothing. In that State a voter is either pro-La Follette or anti-La Follette. It is true that appeals were made in the recent primary campaign on the basis of party allegiance, but the candidate repeatedly attacked the Harding Administration and the Republican majority in Congress. He openly sought the support of those who were dissatisfied with the conduct of the Government at Washington. La Follette has always been nominally a Republican. He began by capturing the Republican party machinery and winning elections by the aid of voters of other faiths. In his present campaign he has the support of the Socialists, who refrained from making a nomination against him. The Non-Partisan League is also with him. At the same time he is the avowed choice of leading labor union officials for President.

In 1916 many thousands of President Wilson's supporters in Wisconsin must have thrown their votes to La Follette for the Senatorship. The canvass showed that while Hughes, for President, carried the State by a plurality of 28,000, and the Republican candidate for Governor had a plurality of 65,000, La Follette won by 116,000 over his Democratic opponent, and captured 59 per cent. of the total vote cast for Senator that year. After his return to the Senate La Follette opposed the Wilson war policies and in his recent primary campaign he defended his course, thereby making a strong appeal to the Wisconsin Germans. He voted against the Volstead Bill and the "dry" element in the State attacked him on that issue, thus assuring him the support of the "wets," who are by no means a negligible factor in Wisconsin.

In 1908 La Follette received twenty-five votes for the Presidential nomination in the Republican National Convention. He has frequently been considered as a possible independent candidate. If his endorsement by the labor unions should result in his nomination in 1924, it may be assumed that his platform will include the excess-profits tax, publicity of income-tax returns, abolition of the injunction in labor disputes, and a constitutional amendment giving Congress power to reenact laws declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. He is supported by the Hearst press in his own State, where the local papers are almost unanimously opposed to him. He has his own monthly magazine at Madison.



A SECTION OF THE CITY OF DENVER, CAPITAL OF COLORADO, AND COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CENTER OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION

(The tunnel described in the following article pierces the Rockies at a point just to the left of the tower in the center of this picture)

COLORADO'S GREAT TUNNEL

BY WAYNE C. WILLIAMS

THE city of Denver—with counties lying adjacent—is about to begin construction of a six-mile tunnel under the Rocky Mountains. It will be the longest tunnel in North America and will connect the eastern and western slopes of Colorado. It is primarily a municipal project and has a genuine interest to American municipalities. Many of our municipalities are undertaking engineering projects, some involving utilities, others a new use of water-power, docks, sewage or railroads (as in the case of Cincinnati); but no American city has as yet undertaken to construct a tunnel of the dimensions and extent involved in this project.

It will be called the Moffat Tunnel, and therein lies the romance of the project. In order to understand this vast municipal undertaking, let us begin at the beginning: We shall take two facts, one physical and one commercial. Colorado is bisected from north to south by the great Continental Divide—the Rocky Mountains. These American Alps are a vast mountain chain dividing the two sections of the State.

Wonderful as they are—snowy peaks and rocky canons of surpassing beauty; mountain parks that form the chief playgrounds of America; vast glaciers that melt and yield swiftly running streams to feed the plains below and make cool temperatures for the city of Denver and the other cities of the State—all this Colorado has by right of Nature, by physical location; but the mountains are a formidable barrier to railroading. No satisfactory tunnel facilities exist for any railroad in Colorado and indeed no real tunnel facilities can now be said to exist at all. Every practical railroad man will understand at once the difficulties of moving trains over high mountain passes, with snowdrifts, grades, and storms to encounter. The Continental Divide forms a huge barrier to complete and satisfactory commercial and intellectual intercourse and to travel between the two sections.

The commercial fact is this, and it is a surprising one: The city of Denver is not on any direct transcontinental railroad line. It lies off the beaten path—so to speak—of

transcontinental railway routes. Its amazing growth into a great and beautiful city, its premiership among all the cities of the Rocky Mountain region, its absorption of the business of the great West, has come about, not because of its railroad facilities but in spite of a lack of them. For a generation the city has been under this handicap, and for even a longer period its far-sighted leaders of business and finance sought to put Denver on a transcontinental line.

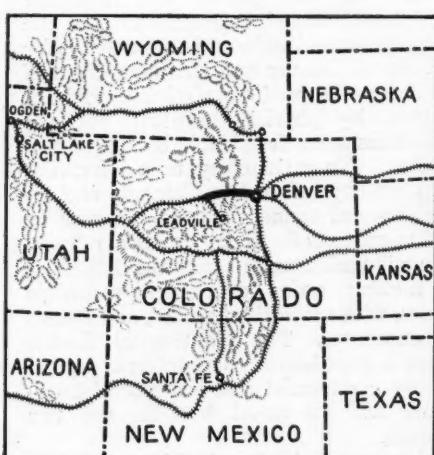
Foremost among all these men was David H. Moffat, pioneer banker, railroad president and empire-builder. Other plans failing, Mr. Moffat determined at last to build the line himself, and one day he startled the business world, both of Denver and New York, by announcing that he would build a railroad over the Continental Divide. Moreover, he began at once to build it. Day by day the steel rails pushed steadily forward until one crowning day Mr. Moffat and a party of his friends stood at the top of the Continental Divide, at Corona Pass. He had overcome Nature's barrier and built to the eternal snows.

Then came obstacles. The great railroads that have their centers in New York were determined that Mr. Moffat should not build a transcontinental line to take business away from their own lines. They blocked him in his efforts to get money in the East. At every turn he found himself thwarted. Determined to realize his ambition to give Denver a transcontinental rail-

road connection he threw his own personal fortune into the scales, but even this did not avail. Mr. Moffat died almost penniless without his dream being realized, and for years it seemed that it never could be brought to fruition. The railroad stopped at the edge of the untapped resources of Northwestern Colorado and has since eked out a precarious existence.

Meanwhile the Moffat dream would not lie quiet. Foremost among those who had helped Mr. Moffat was Mr. William G. Evans, president of the Denver Tramway Company, leading capitalist and financier; the son of the late governor, John Evans of Colorado, who founded the Northwestern University and the University of Denver. Mr. Evans has been, and now is, untiring in his efforts to promote the tunnel. Other Denver and Colorado business men tried to secure State aid for a tunnel; for it was seen that only with a huge bore piercing the Continental Divide could the railroad be made successful. The legislature first passed a tunnel bill to provide this great improvement, but the courts held that the State could not in that way lend its aid and credit to the enterprise. Then the legislature submitted a proposed constitutional amendment, creating a tunnel commission with authority to build any tunnels needed. But here a new obstacle was encountered in the hostility of certain portions of the State, based on the alleged fear that a tunnel for a railroad out of Denver would divert general transcontinental traffic. They had other reasons—some of them weighty—but this was the paramount consideration. The tunnel amendment was defeated by a narrow margin. There was but one thing left to do—the city of Denver and the counties directly interested must build the tunnel. No private capital could be secured to undertake it.

Governor Oliver H. Shoup called the legislature in special session to deal with this situation and with another physical emergency. The city of Pueblo had been devastated by a flood a year ago, and needed legislation to enable it to create a flood district, to conserve its waters and avoid future disasters. The legislature passed two laws, one creating a flood district for the Arkansas River valley and one creating a tunnel district for Denver and adjacent counties. The laws were patterned after the Miami conservancy law in Ohio. The great disaster of the Dayton floods gave rise to legislation



PUTTING DENVER ON THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD MAP

(The heavy black line shows approximately the location of the proposed railroad improvement)

there that forms a landmark for all future legislation of a similar character in this country.

After the laws were enacted, Governor Shoup at once named a commission to build the tunnel. The personnel of the Commission and of its consulting engineers is a distinguished one. The Commission is headed by W. P. Robinson of Denver, as president. The other members are Charles McAllister Willcox, Charles J. Wheeler, W. N. Blayney and Charles H. Leckenby. Mr. Leckenby is a prominent newspaper man. The others are leading Denver business men. Mr. Willcox is the head of one of the great department stores of the West, and is the son of General Orlando B. Willcox, who served with distinction under General Grant in the Civil War.

L. D. Blauvelt is the engineer, and the consulting engineers are David W. Brunton, of Denver; J. Vipond Davies, New York, builder of the Manhattan, Hudson and Pennsylvania tunnels, and J. Waldo Smith, also of New York. Mr. Smith was chief engineer and now is consulting engineer for the New York water-supply system.

The engineers have already made trips of inspection to the tunnel site and laid foundations for the driving of the great bore.

Norton Montgomery, a prominent Colorado lawyer, is the attorney, and former State Senator George Lewis, superintendent of the great Portland Mine of Cripple Creek, will be the assistant to the president and in active charge of the operations.

Actual construction was scheduled to begin about the first of September, and will not cease until the work is done. It is estimated that it will require four years to complete the work, over six hundred men being regularly employed during that period. The tunnel will start about fifty miles from Denver, just above the town of Tolland on the present Moffat road, and will pierce the north shoulder of James Peak, one of the mightiest monarchs of the main range. The eastern portal starts at an elevation of 9,190 feet and the western portal is at an elevation of 9,100 feet. The tunnel will be 6.3 miles long. It will be slightly raised near the center and drained both ways,

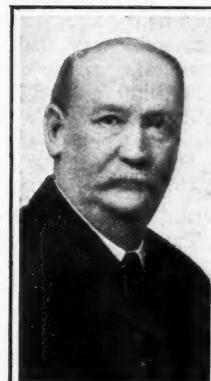
making the ends of the tunnel forty feet below the highest point in the interior. A tunnel bore eight by ten feet will first be driven and work will begin at both portals at the same time. The main tunnel will be sixteen feet wide and twenty-four feet high; it is proposed to build a pioneer tunnel beside the main bore that will aid in construction and afford an aqueduct to bring the waters of the western slope rivers to Denver and to the plains of eastern Colorado. This pioneer tunnel will also be used to carry power, light and compressed air to ventilate the main tunnel.

The construction problems, while interesting chiefly to engineers, present a number of aspects that will concern even the lay reader. The tunnel will be occupied by a single track and will be of concrete, where possible, and timbered where the rock is not strong enough to form the walls of the tunnel itself. The builders of the Moffat Tunnel are profiting by the valuable experience of engineers in constructing the Rogers Pass Tunnel on the Canadian Pacific Railway. This tunnel has been completed some four or five years. It is 5.2 miles long and is at present the longest railway tunnel in North America.

The Rogers Pass Tunnel, since named the Connaught Tunnel, is on the main line of the Canadian Pacific and pierces the Selkirk range in British Columbia. Rogers Pass had a snowfall of from thirty to fifty feet each winter and the cost of operating the road was so heavy that the tunnel became a necessity. A pioneer tunnel was also built in the construction of Connaught Tunnel.

The fundamental construction conditions of the two tunnels are much the same. If anything the Moffat tunnel presents more difficult obstacles than were offered to the engineers who constructed the big bore through Rogers Pass. The Canadian Pacific Tunnel builders had softer material through which to bore, this material consisting principally of schist, quartzite, some clay and some talc. The material through which the Moffat Tunnel builders must bore is largely granite.

The boring of a huge tunnel through the main range of the Rocky Mountains is not



DAVID H. MOFFAT
(For whom the six-mile railroad tunnel under the Rockies will be named)

unlike the building of a subway, yet every engineer will at once recognize the fact that the two operations are not identical. The difference in atmospheric conditions, for example, must be taken seriously into account. A lighter air at the high altitude of the Rockies makes it necessary to compress a greater volume in order to get sufficient air to the men who are at work. The air will probably be supplied as it was in the Rogers Pass Tunnel, through a wooden pipe. As an example of the close technical detail required on the part of the engineers, the matter of supplying air furnishes one of the most important features of the whole work—and the matter of air for workmen is not a detail at all—it is a fundamental. Previous tunnel-builders have tried the thin steel pipe, but the walls of this pipe do not hold up as well as a wooden wall.

Both tunnels will be straight. The Rogers Pass Tunnel is standing very well indeed, and no difficulties are anticipated either in the driving of the Moffat Tunnel or in its durability after completion.

The tunnel will cut out twenty-three miles of railroad over the top of the Continental Divide, as well as the snow-sheds and 4 per cent. grade. When we remember the engineers' estimate that snow conditions absorb 41 per cent. of the annual profits of the road, we can see the financial significance of the tunnel.

When completed the Moffat Tunnel will be a tremendous physical monument to American enterprise, to engineering skill, and to the man whose name it will bear. It will make the Moffat road a link in the shortest transcontinental railroad in America, and it will put Denver on that road. It will directly and vitally affect transcontinental railroading on all lines from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It will be a powerful factor in carrying goods to the unlimited markets of the Orient, and will help the cities of the Middle West and Northwest in their struggle to avoid the serious competition of shipping through the Panama Canal. The tunnel will enable the Denver & Rio Grande Western, which now detours by a circuitous route, to reach Salt Lake and the Pacific coast by building a short cut and thus save 171 miles. This cut-off will extend from Creston to Dotsero.

The tunnel will also insure the construction of a line from Salt Lake City to the

present terminus of the Moffat road in Colorado, opening rich lands of the Uintah Basin in Utah.

Certainly the most important effect of the tunnel will be the opening of the vast, untouched resources of northwestern Colorado and northeastern Utah. In Colorado this is called the "Routt County Empire." Here lie some of the greatest untouched beds of anthracite in the world—enough coal to supply the world for generations; over two thousand square miles of oil shale estimated to contain fifty billion barrels of oil; over ten billion feet of timber. Indeed it is quite within the bounds of reason to say that the tunnel opens up the richest single undeveloped spot on this continent, and will pour the commerce of this region into the lap of Denver and send new life-blood through its commercial veins.

This vast municipal undertaking is one in which other counties are to share. The entire Moffat Tunnel District, includes, besides City and County of Denver, all or a portion of the counties of Grand, Moffat, Routt, Eagle, Gilpin, Boulder, Adams and Jefferson.

Under the provisions of the law, property owners were given a specified period within which to object to the law or to the project. This period has passed and not a single property owner in the entire Tunnel District has filed an objection or a protest. Therefore there now exist no obstacles to the issuance of bonds, or to the commencement of the work of construction. The Tunnel Commission will shortly issue bonds to pay for the construction of the tunnel and not only will there be no legal obstacles to the issuance of these securities, but there will be back of them the vast wealth of the municipality of Denver and all the private property owned therein and the wealth of all the counties forming the district. Probably there has been no security offered in American markets in recent years with such a safe foundation as the bonds of the Moffat Tunnel will be found to possess.

Thus it remains for the city of Denver to undertake one of the greatest municipal projects ever known in American history, and the progress of the tunnel and its commercial and industrial possibilities form a theme that is interesting to scientific men, to capitalists, to laborers, and to students of American municipal life.

AN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN NICARAGUA

BY CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

(Associate Professor of Hispanic American History in the University of California)

IN his pre-election campaign in 1912 Woodrow Wilson denounced President Taft's intervention in Nicaragua as an unjustifiable act of imperialism. That, no doubt, represented the honest opinion not only of Mr. Wilson but also of thousands of thinking people in the United States. It was a natural supposition that the company of Marines sent to Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, by President Taft would at once be withdrawn following the inauguration of President Wilson. But the Marines *stayed*. And they are there yet. Furthermore, President Wilson began a series of interventions in other American countries that surpassed the combined efforts of his predecessors of more than half a century. In Mexico, Vera Cruz was occupied, and later Pershing was sent on a wild-goose chase after Pancho Villa. Cuba and Panama were forbidden to indulge in the local sport of revolution as a means of choosing a President. And Haiti and Santo Domingo were effectually occupied by armed forces of the United States which still control the destinies of those island republics. An account of the American intervention in both countries appeared in the July number of this REVIEW. A report by Dr. Carl Kelsey, of the University of Pennsylvania, gives full details of our occupation of the island.

Clearly some explanation of these acts should be forthcoming. At first sight, one might otherwise be pardoned for believing that the apostle of "self-determination of peoples" was in fact as great a "hypocrite" as he has been charged with being by certain Spanish-Ameri-

can writers. The truth seems to be that Mr. Wilson did not fully understand the situation before he came into office. Afterward, he became at least partially informed, realizing the unavoidable necessity of some action in the nearer republics of Hispanic America. He may be criticized for the ways in which he carried out his numerous interventions, but not for the facts of the interventions themselves. It is the purpose of this article to give a rapid survey of one such intervention—begun, indeed, by President Taft—an intervention which, on the whole, reflects credit on the American people.

The Interests of Europe

The five republics of Central America, of which Nicaragua is one, have been the scene of probably more revolutions in the past hundred years than any other region of equal area in the world. If the Central American countries alone were to be considered, one might indeed keep "hands off," and let them "stew in their own juice."



THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA IN ITS RELATION TO OTHER CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES

So, too, might the United States forego the undoubted rights in international law of her own citizens to protection of life and property in their legitimate dealings with those republics. But there is a third element which cannot thus easily be put off—the interests of Europeans.

European nations have been unwilling to "turn the other cheek" or "bare the solar-plexus" for the blows which Central American revolution and bankruptcy would rain upon them. England, in particular, has insisted that the rights of her nationals be protected, including payment of debts owing to them. Carried to a logical conclusion—as they have been in every continent of the world except the two Americas!—the demands of European Powers would long ago have resulted in annexations or protectorates in the greater part of Hispanic America, if it had not been for the Monroe Doctrine. Under the circumstances, European "diplomatic pressure" in Central America has not always been effectual. Therefore, Europe has gone to Washington, and said: "If you are unwilling to have us go into these countries, see to it yourself that our rights are protected." Obviously, the United States has been obliged to do one of two things: intervene, or abandon the Monroe Doctrine. No American President has as yet consented to drop the famous principles enunciated in 1823. Therefore, there has been intervention—of a sort, usually half-hearted, ill-informed, badly managed. Among all such interventions in recent years that in Nicaragua stands out like a luminary in the heavens as one that has been a success—in spite of misunderstanding at our national Capital that at times threatened to kill it.

Revolution and an Empty Treasury

In 1893 General José Santos Zelaya came into power in Nicaragua as the result of a successful revolution. From that time forward, for sixteen years, he ruled Nicaragua as his own interests and caprice dictated. He robbed and murdered. He desecrated homes. He rode roughshod over foreign interests, so that it was impossible to have any dealings with him.

In 1909 a revolution against Zelaya broke out in Bluefields. Early in the campaign two Americans, Groce and Cannon, who were fighting on the revolutionary side, were captured by Zelaya and brutally put to death. This incident, of no great impor-

tance in itself, seems to have determined President Taft to get rid of Zelaya. So when the latter's troops approached Bluefields, which is in fact a center of foreign interests along the Atlantic coast, the United States Government forbade them to bombard the town. Consequently, Zelaya was unable to take Bluefields. This proved to be the decisive factor of the war, which shortly afterward resulted in victory for the revolutionary party. Zelaya himself got safely away to Europe, there to enjoy the loot which sixteen years of unbridled rule in Nicaragua had given him.

The American Collector of Customs

The situation which the new government faced was chaotic in the extreme. The Nicaraguan *peso* had declined from a normal value of fifty cents to ten, and two years later fell to five. The treasury was empty, and it became necessary to default on the country's bonds. In this situation the Nicaraguan Government in 1910 appealed to the United States for help. The State Department responded with much friendly assistance, and was the means of arranging for a loan from two New York banking houses, Brown Brothers & Company and J. and W. Seligman & Company. A treaty negotiated between the United States and Nicaragua provided for the appointment of a Collector General of Customs approved by the President of the United States. This was intended to restore a sound financial condition in Nicaragua. The treaty failed in the United States Senate, but through the aid of the New York bankers, under the auspices of the State Department, the main idea was nevertheless carried out.

Ten years have passed since the American intervention got fairly under way in 1912. If an attempt had been made to pick the very worst time in the history of Nicaragua for the experiment, this decade might well have been chosen. Right at the outset, in 1912, there was a serious revolution, headed by General Mena, the powerful Minister of War. The State Department had gone too far to draw back now, and, at the request of the Nicaraguan Government, sent in a body of Marines to protect foreign interests. In effect this caused the failure of the revolution. It was clear that another would break out as soon as the Marines were withdrawn; so the government of Nicaragua asked that they should remain at Managua. This they did, and at the express and re-

iterated wish of the Nicaraguan authorities they have remained ever since.

The treaty of 1911 had provided for a loan from the New York bankers of \$15,000,000, most of which was intended to be applied in refunding the national debt, and in settlement of claims. The establishment of a National Bank, stabilization of the currency, and building of a railroad to the Atlantic coast were other features. Security for payments of interest and for the eventual repayment of the loan was based primarily on the Customs Revenues, and the control of the National Bank by the New York bankers. At the suggestion of the State Department, Colonel Clifford D. Ham was appointed Collector General of Customs. Colonel Ham came to this post after a long experience in the Philippines, through which he learned not only how to handle customs revenues but also—and this was more important—how to deal with a Spanish civilization.

He took charge in December, 1911, and is still in office.

When Nicaragua Faced Bankruptcy

But, as already stated, the United States Senate failed to ratify the treaty, and the loan was not made. The result to Nicaragua is summed up by Colonel Ham as follows:

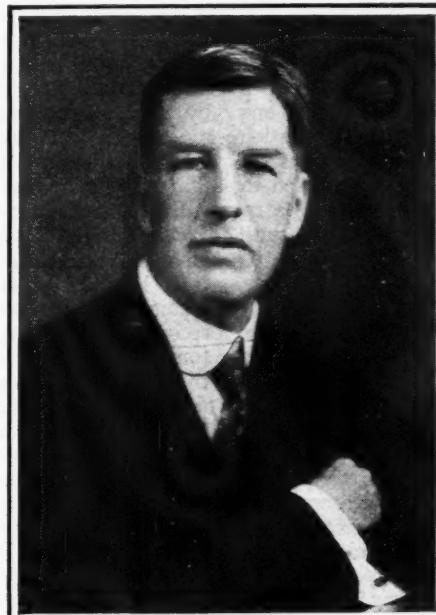
The failure of the treaty delayed the reforms for seven years, all except the new currency system, and the railroad has not been built yet. If the Senate had ratified the treaty, the Revolution of 1912 might not have happened (it cost Nicaragua a couple of millions more), the creditors and claimants could have gotten better terms, and a settlement in 1912 and 1913 instead of 1917-1918, and the railroad would probably have been built before now. The financial difficulties of the years 1913 to 1917 would probably not have happened. The Senate cost Nicaragua dearly.

This was a grave setback, but the Nicaraguan Government went ahead as best it could. The State Department persuaded the New York bankers to lend \$1,500,000 for the establishment of a National Bank and stabilization of Nicaraguan currency on a par with the dollar. A Mixed Claims Commission was established, two of whose

three members were appointed by the American Secretary of State. This body worked from 1911 to 1914, passing on nearly 8,000 claims, reducing them in amount from \$13,800,000 to \$1,800,000. Only the smallest claims could be paid at the time, however, owing to lack of funds.

In 1912 occurred the already-mentioned Mena revolution, adding to the financial embarrassments of the country. In 1913 England, France, Italy, and especially Germany, made strong representations both at Managua and Washington in favor of debts owing their nationals. By this time the Wilson Administration had

come into power, and it began to see matters in a different light from that of preelection days. European diplomats were informed that the United States would take a friendly interest in their claims. The Great War, breaking out in 1914, postponed political pressure, but nearly ruined Nicaragua financially. That country had depended primarily for its revenues on its shipments of coffee to Europe. This source of income now failed. Only the consent of the American and English creditors to a suspension of interest and sinking-fund payments on their bonds carried the government over the next three years. Even so, teachers and many other employees of the government—always excepting the army and the police!—had to go for months at a time without pay.



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HON. CLIFFORD D. HAM, OF IOWA
 (Who has been Collector-General of Customs for the Republic of Nicaragua since 1911. Previously Colonel Ham had performed similar work in the Philippines, after service in the Spanish-American War)

Various expedients were tried to relieve the situation. One of these was the sale of 51 per cent. of the stock of the Pacific Railroad to the bankers for \$1,000,000. Of far greater importance was the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty of August 5, 1914, negotiated before the outbreak of the Great War, but not ratified until considerably later. The principal feature of this treaty was the purchase by the United States from Nicaragua, for \$3,000,000, of an option for the United States to build a canal through Nicaragua. An attempt by the German Government to acquire rights along the canal route was one of the hastening factors in the negotiation of this treaty. But the Senate held up the treaty until June, 1916, Congress failed to appropriate funds until some months later, and the money was not available until July, 1917.

How the Problem Was Solved

In 1916 and early in 1917 matters were at their worst. Everybody was dissatisfied. The American intervention up to this point seemed decidedly to have been a failure. It was just at this time that a brilliant scheme was devised which saved the situation and put Nicaragua on her feet. Many persons contributed to the result, but there were several who seem entitled to special credit. It was the Collector General, Colonel Ham, who suggested the basic idea of the now famous Plan of 1917—that of a financial reorganization and readjustment of the national debt. But General Emiliano Chamorro (President from 1917 to 1921 and now Minister to Washington), Martin Benard (Minister of Finance), and the officers of the bank had much to do with working out the details. The project was so unusual that on one occasion General Chamorro pointed to a chandelier and said he would hang himself from it before he would accept the Plan. Further study convinced him of its merit, and events have amply proved his latter judgment right.

The Plan of 1917 left the bonded foreign debt intact, but provided for the payment of all floating foreign and internal debts and claims in a reduced amount of cash and domestic bonds. The future finances of the country were taken into account through the adoption of a budget system and the establishment of a certain measure of control by the United States Government. The last-named object was attained through the founding of a High Commission,

one of whose members was to be a Nicaraguan and the other an American, appointed by the American Secretary of State. In case of disagreement, a decision was to be rendered by a third member; also an American. The budget stipulated a certain sum that the government could spend each month. Beyond that amount its expenditures must, in the main, receive the approval of the High Commission. Other features of the Plan provided funds for payments of interest and the amortization of the domestic debt, which was to be administered by the High Commission. The whole arrangement was approved not only by Nicaragua but also by the bankers and the State Department of the United States.

Excellent results were obtained almost at once. The creditors accepted the Plan, and have since received interest regularly on their bonds. These securities, known as Guaranteed Customs Bonds (since they are secured in part by a percentage of the customs revenues) are now in such favor that they are being sought abroad for investment; in 1918 considerably over half were owned in Nicaragua, while now two-thirds are held by foreigners. The arrears in interest on the foreign bonded debt have been paid, and the principal reduced in amount. And the credit of the country was so greatly improved that it was able to negotiate a fresh loan in 1920, with the idea of repurchasing the 51 per cent. of stock outstanding of the Pacific Railroad and of constructing another road to the Atlantic coast. The first of these objects has since been accomplished, though the management of the line is still retained by the bankers as part of their security.

Some Complaints that Persist

Nicaragua is not yet wholly "out of the woods" economically, but this is chargeable rather to bad luck than to any fault in the system. She could not escape the world depression, though its effects were not felt until 1921. In that year, also, heavy rains at the wrong time ruined the coffee crop, resulting in an assured continuance of the depression through 1922. So there is still some dissatisfaction. People are prone to interpret the financial system in terms of their personal good or bad fortune. In particular one hears a perfect din of complaints against "the Bank." The writer made an attempt to inquire into the precise charges, but, without hearing that institution's side-

of the case, has concluded from the arguments of its enemies that it is deserving of praise rather than censure. The complaints—made with fervent sincerity!—are in no respect different from those of cheap-money advocates in all eras of depression everywhere. Many of the charges do not merit serious consideration—such, for example, as that of an iniquitous plot to lower the price of coffee.

Indeed, the only concrete thing alleged is that the bank would not lend money to those who needed it, and, through its monopoly of the right of issue, would not put more money into circulation; hence the denunciations on the part of those who could have saved themselves through the medium of a loan—which, incidentally, they could not get, either, from the English banks.

The country most assuredly is better off as a result of the bank's sound policy, even if individuals lost. The man in the street will, of course, never recognize this. Thus "the Bank" in Nicaragua is the same sort of opprobrious epithet as is "Wall Street" in the United States. Many excellent men there, as here, join in the clamor, and few rise to defend what is, after all, one of the most beneficent institutions in the country.

What Nicaragua Has Gained Through American Intervention

At this point it may be well to sum up some of the economic advantages thus far derived from the American intervention. Nicaragua has been made solvent, and its money circulates at par with the dollar. How many other countries of the world can say as much? In 1920 and 1921 the merchants of Nicaragua, almost alone in Hispanic America, did not reject American goods for which they had previously contracted. There were, indeed, some readjustments on goods delivered after prices had fallen from those of the original contract, but the amounts involved were small, and there were no disputes over these matters. In the light of the thousands of tons left to rot and ruin on the docks of Cuba, Colombia, Argentina, and almost everywhere else, this is a remarkable record. Circulation, in terms of gold, has increased from an average of about \$1,300,000 prior to 1909 to over \$2,000,000 now. The national debt has been reduced from \$32,000,000 in 1911 to less than \$10,000,000 at the present time. And Nicaragua, though desperately poor for the moment, is in

a position to profit by the first revival of prosperity. Indeed, few countries of the world are in a fundamentally more sound financial condition than is Nicaragua.

Coffee, bananas and sugar comprise more than half of the exports of Nicaragua, while cotton goods, flour, iron and steel manufactures, petroleum, and chemicals constitute nearly half of the imports. In 1921 the country bought goods abroad to the value of \$5,310,000 and sold abroad to the extent of \$8,071,000. Trade with the United States, both imports and exports, accounted for \$10,000,000 out of a total foreign commerce valued at \$13,381,000 in 1921. Nicaragua's foreign trade, it should be noted, was from two to three times as large in 1920 as in any year prior to the coming of the American financial advisers.

Politics and Parties

It is possible that the political advantages of the American intervention even outweigh the economic. To make this clear, a brief review of events is necessary. At the outset the Liberal party, which has been out of power since the overthrow of Zelaya, was opposed to every phase of the "Americanismo." They made the fullest use of their opportunity to cry out patriotism as against the foreigner.

With the vocal advantage of the party out of power, the Liberals have persuaded both themselves and several foreign writers that they have an overwhelming majority in Nicaragua, and are only prevented from acquiring control of the government because of the support given the Conservative party by the United States. As to the first of these assertions, the writer is convinced that one would be very rash to claim a majority for either party. The sanitary census of the admittedly unbiased International Health Board, to say nothing of the national census of 1920, is a strong argument in favor of the Conservative contention as to distribution of the population, and can be set off against the ardent Liberal insistence in their own superior numbers. The matter has never been put to a real test, however, for it is true that the United States has virtually backed the Conservative party; indeed, our Government has even been obliged to take an interest in the selection of a President, and its wish, if clearly expressed, would be determining. To be sure, there have been a number of elections in the past ten years in which the Conservatives have uniformly tri-

umphed. But there are very few countries in Hispanic America where the party in power ever loses an election!

Why has it been necessary for the United States to favor one party as against another? Given the Liberal attitude it was impossible to do anything else. Otherwise there would have been a revival of the familiar cycle: revolution—repudiation—European demands—and a fresh intervention, or else an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine. In this connection the fact that the State Department influenced the New York bankers in the making of their financial arrangements with Nicaragua cannot be overlooked. The situation has not been a pleasant one for our Government to face, and there have been complaints in Nicaragua because the State Department has at times endeavored to dodge its responsibility. Thus, in the presidential election of 1920, the State Department announced that it would not favor any single candidate over another, and this has brought about something very like a split in the Conservative party. Nevertheless, a long-continued intervention in the face of a hostile majority, or near-majority, could hardly be viewed with favor in the United States. It is therefore important to see whether there has been any change in the situation which gives promise of freeing us from our obligations in Nicaragua.

The Liberal, or Opposition, Party

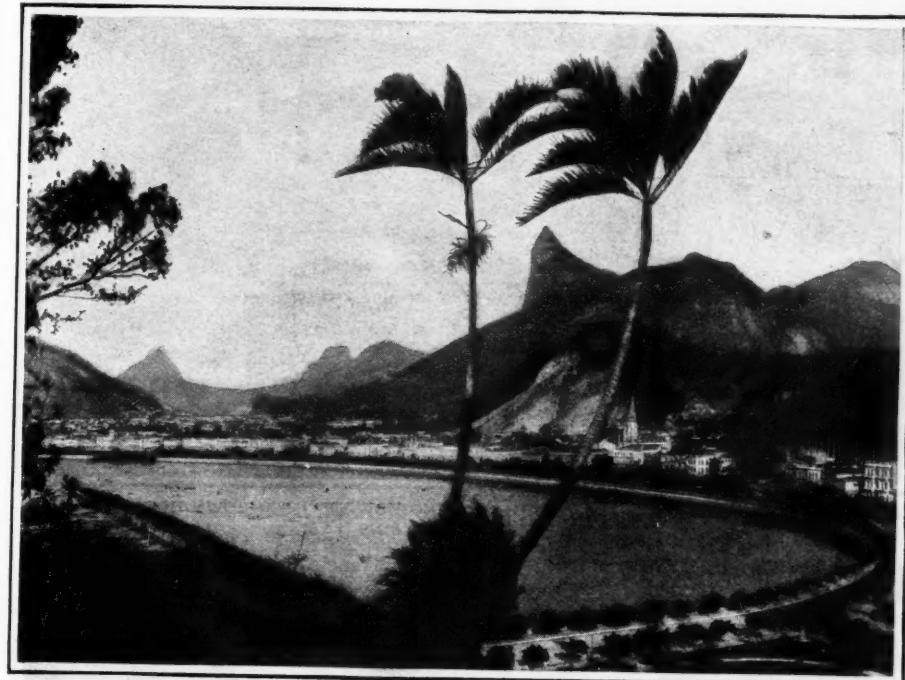
Happily, it is true that the attitude of the Liberals—certainly that of their leaders—has changed. There are still some bitterly “anti-Americanist” Liberals against the intervention on every score. There are still occasional attacks not only against “the Bank” but also against the Marines. Several months ago there was a shooting affray between some of the Marines and the police of Managua. Thereupon, the Liberal press clamored to high Heaven for the removal of this foreign host—incidentally, one hundred and thirty men. Then came rumors that Washington was considering whether the Marines should not be taken away permanently—and, as if touched by a magic wand, the Liberal papers relapsed into silence.

The truth is that the Liberals are now more interventionist than the Conservatives—at least, temporarily. In conversation they will tell you that they accept American management of the customs revenues; indeed, the efficiency and honesty of the cus-

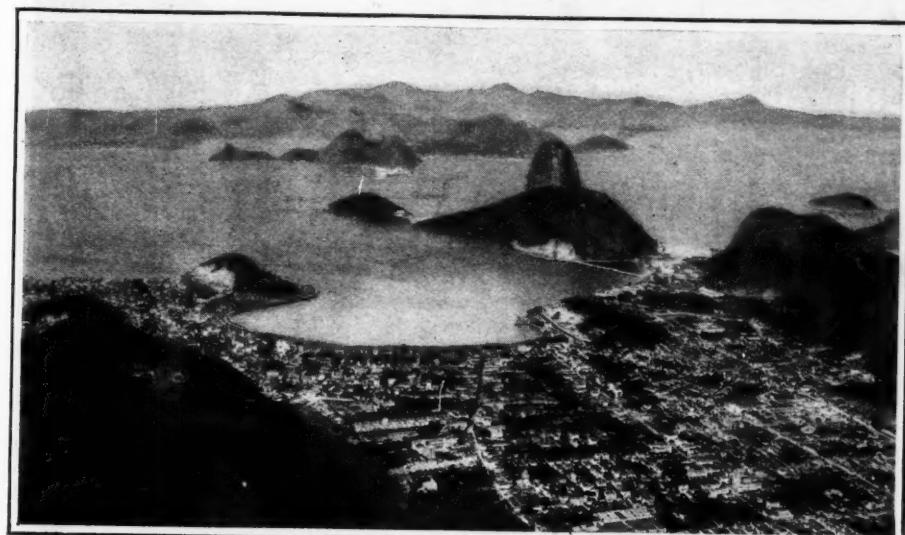
toms service is pretty well recognized. In like manner they accept the High Commission. They approve of the presence of the Marines as an assurance of peace. They ask for further intervention in the form of American control of elections. In fact, the only thing they clamor against is the Bank. The writer is inclined to believe that a year of prosperity in 1923, which now seems probable, will somewhat soften the asperity of their opposition to the Bank. In the light of the financial achievements of the past ten years, the Bank would seem to be a poor political issue. The Conservatives might meet it by claiming that financial success was due to them—perhaps despite the Bank. The real complaint of the Liberals is that they do not have a fair chance, at present, to win an election. This they are not likely to get until they drop their cry of “anti-Americanismo.” Meanwhile, a first step has been taken looking toward the solution of the election problem. An expert in political science, Dr. H. W. Dodds of New York, has recently spent several months in Nicaragua working out a just election law and has submitted his findings to the government.

One may well wonder why there has been such a change in Liberal opinion. Two factors are primarily responsible: the economic benefit that has come to Nicaragua, despite disheartening handicaps, though there are many who still fly in the face of facts and deny any economic improvement; and the growing confidence in the friendliness of the United States, convincing all elements in Nicaragua that no American conquest is in contemplation. This much is surely a great achievement! The United States obtains the purely negative advantage of protection of her citizens, and safeguarding of the Monroe Doctrine. Beyond this it is plainly to her interests not to go. Not only is a realization of this dawning in Nicaragua, but there is also a glimmer of appreciation of that fact in the other Central American countries. Guatemala, Salvador and Costa Rica are just now negotiating loans that must involve a similar penetration of American interest, if the loans go through. Eventually, it is to be hoped, it will be possible to bring about an entire withdrawal of American control without risk of revolution and a total upsetting of political and financial stability. The day that the severing of the American connection shall come depends upon the Nicaraguans themselves.

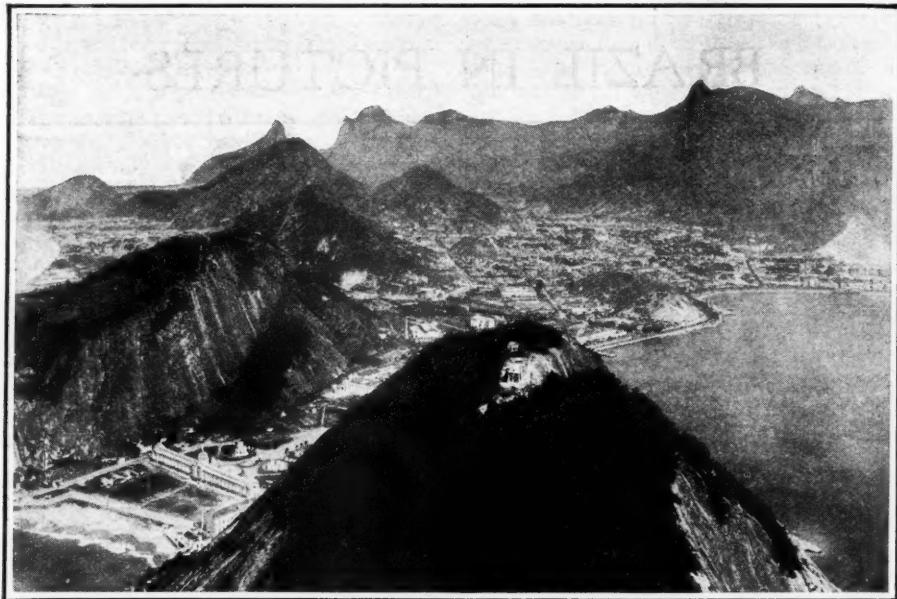
BRAZIL IN PICTURES



A SECTION OF THE FAMOUS WATER-FRONT BOULEVARD OF RIO DE JANEIRO



OVERLOOKING THE CITY AND BAY OF RIO DE JANEIRO



THE VIEW FROM SUGAR LOAF MOUNTAIN, SHOWING HOW RIO HAS GROWN IN BETWEEN AND AROUND MOUNTAINS

BRAZIL is celebrating the completion of a century of independence, the principal feature being an exposition at

Rio de Janeiro, opened on September 7 and lasting until the end of March. In size and possibilities for future development, Brazil



AVENUE RIO BRANCO, THE PRINCIPAL THOROUGHFARE IN THE BRAZILIAN CAPITAL



THE MUNICIPAL THEATER AT RIO DE JANEIRO

has but two rivals in this western hemisphere—Argentina and the United States. It occupies half the continent of South America.

Rio de Janeiro, the capital city and site of the exposition, has been declared to be the most beautiful metropolis in all the world, from the standpoint of natural features. Where else, for example, will one

find a combination of beach and mountain, in such abundance, as shown in the picture at the top of the opposite page?

The Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, was present at the opening of the exposition as representative of our Government; and tourists in large numbers will this winter be drawn to Brazil by the exposition.



THE PALACE HOTEL IN RIO, WHICH WILL HOUSE MANY TOURISTS DURING THE EXPOSITION



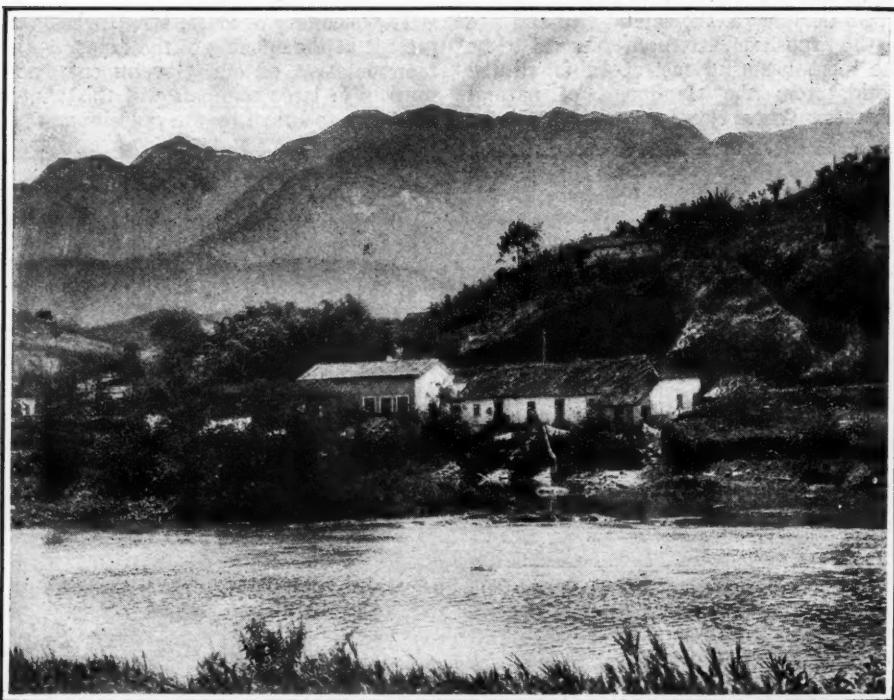
MONROE PALACE IN RIO

(Which had been the Brazilian Building at the St. Louis Exposition. The main entrance to Rio's own world's fair will be in front of this palace)



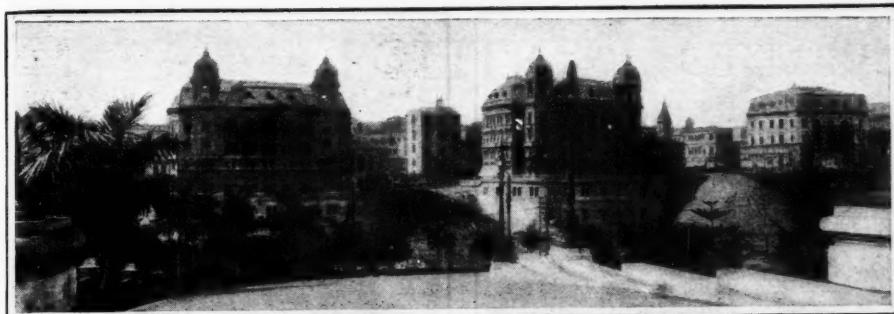
ONE OF RIO'S FAMOUS AVENUES OF PALMS

(The reader's attention is called to the fact that the water-way between the rows of royal palm trees is a canal!)



A TYPICAL LANDSCAPE IN CENTRAL BRAZIL—MOUNTAINS, VALLEYS, AND RIVER

(Northern and western Brazil forms the basin of the Amazon River—mostly a great plain. But southern and eastern Brazil is plateau-like in character, broken by many rivers and valleys)



THE MODERN BUILDINGS OF SAO PAULO, SECOND LARGEST CITY IN THE REPUBLIC



THE MAIN STREET OF PARA, THE RUBBER PORT OF BRAZIL



BAHIA, THE OLDEST CITY IN BRAZIL, BUILT ON TWO LEVELS CONNECTED BY HYDRAULIC ELEVATORS



PICKING THE COFFEE BERRY, EACH CONTAINING TWO BEANS



DRYING THE COFFEE BEAN, ON VAST DRYING FLATS

Brazil supplies three-fourths of the world's coffee; and its coffee crop alone brings a larger income to the country than all other exports combined. The southern states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo have, in fact, been described as one vast coffee estate.

Stated in a more familiar term than "bags," we find an annual yield of approximately 1,600,000,000 pounds. A full-grown tree may yield two pounds of coffee beans, beginning to bear in its third year and continuing for as long as forty years.



A COFFEE PLANTATION IN BRAZIL—SHOWING THE DRYING FLATS IN THE FOREGROUND AND THE COFFEE TREES ON THE HILLSIDE

ITALY'S POLITICAL CRISIS

BY LEONARDO VITETTI

[The author of the following article is a leading journalist and political observer of Rome, who became favorably known to Americans while serving as a correspondent at Washington, for the Italian press, during the recent conference on disarmament.—THE EDITOR]

I. FOUR GOVERNMENTS IN THIRTEEN MONTHS

IN the course of a few months, Italy has changed four cabinets. One of these, the first Facta cabinet, lived for only one hundred and fifty days. The cabinet which preceded it, that of Signor Bonomi, lived for eight months. All these governments have the same origin, they are all the result of a coalition formed of the same parties, they are defeated by the same majority, and fall for the same reason. They resemble a rotation of deputies to power, more than a change of government; and this explains the lack of interest of the Italian public in the constant changes. I will endeavor to give a simple explanation of this parliamentary phenomenon.

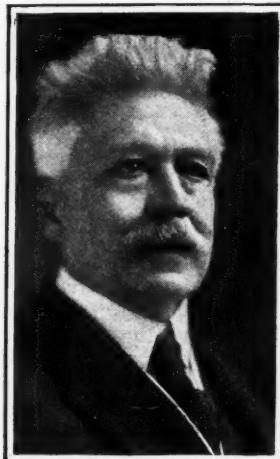
The House of Representatives is divided into thirteen political groups, of very different proportions. These groups—save for the Communists, who are very few in number, and the Socialists—have taken and continue to take part in the formation of the cabinets. But none of them is strong enough to form a ministry alone, and it is always necessary to resort to a coalition of several groups. Thus we have cabinets in which are men of various principles, of different tendencies, and having various political interests.

At the head of the cabinet must be placed a man of conciliating nature and intentions, whose chief task invariably is that of preventing too violent clashes among his ministers. In fact, though head of the government and leader of the majority, he has no power to change either his cabinet or his majority, through the impossibility in which he finds himself of radically changing the political composition of the Coalition. Thus he is bound to the will—and one might say to the caprice—of the groups forming the Coalition, who keep the cabinet in a constant state of uncertainty because they are almost all in a position to leave the cabinet and thus defeat it.

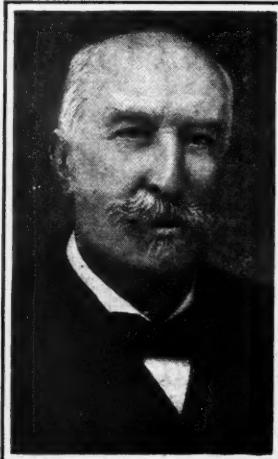
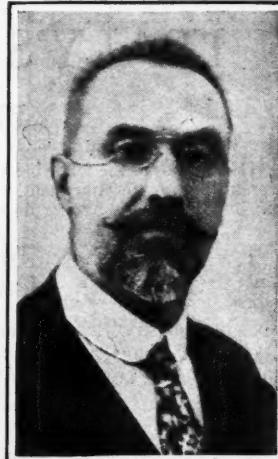
Of these groups the strongest is the Catholic Center (*Partito Popolare Italiano*). There are more than a hundred deputies in this party, which forms a fifth of the whole House, and not much less than a third of the constitutional deputies. In view of its power, it is practically impossible to form a cabinet in which the *Partito Popolare* does not form part. Though representing a minority, it ends by absolutely deciding the life of the cabinets. This position makes it the arbiter of the parliamentary situation, just as the German Catholic Center (*Volkspartei*) has been and is the arbiter in the Reichstag. Power easily leads to abuse; and it happened that in the last crisis the Popular Party wished to have a deciding voice in the formation of the cabinet, demanding the exclusion of the groups of the right (Liberals, Conservatives, Nationalists, and Fascists) and the formation of a ministry of Democrats and Catholics. In this program the Catholics naturally had the support of the Socialists, wishing to exclude from the government the Conservative representatives; and Signor Turati, their leader, went to the palace to be consulted by the King, thus breaking the anti-monarchist tradition of the Socialist party.

II. THE NEW CABINET

The new cabinet is not different from that which was defeated a few weeks ago. Signor Facta has only changed some ministers who had been particularly criticised and has given up the office of Minister of the Interior, which he held together with the Premiership. A strong tendency in favor of the formation of a ministry from the Left was manifest in the House, but all attempts to form such a ministry were futile. The Socialists, after sending Signor Turati to the Quirinal to convince the King that a Democratic-Socialist cabinet would be advisable, and after having proclaimed a general strike, had to accept the return of Signor Facta with a coalition ministry. The general strike proclaimed by the Labor



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Vittorio Emanuele Orlando
(October, 1917, to June, 1919)Giovanni Giolitti
(June, 1920, to June, 1921)Ivanoe Bonomi
(July, 1921, to February, 1922)

ITALIAN STATESMEN WHO HAVE SERVED THEIR COUNTRY AS PRIME MINISTER WITHIN RECENT YEARS

Federation (*Alleanza del Lavoro*) completely failed, since the greater number of workers did not respond to the call; and for Minister of the Interior Signor Facta chose, not a Social Democrat deputy, but a functionary, the Prefect of Turin, Signor Taddei. It is the first time in the constitutional history of Italy that a Prefect has been nominated Minister of the Interior.

The ministerial crisis has therefore been solved with a curious contradiction. Signor Facta was defeated in the House because the deputies considered him too conservative, and the House indicated a desire for a ministry from the Left. Signor Facta now returns as Premier with a ministry even more conservative than the previous one—because all attempts to form a cabinet from the Left failed, and no statesman felt that he could assume the responsibility before Italian public opinion of forming a Social-Democratic cabinet.

This phenomenon must be explained. Its explanation is also the explanation of the Italian political crisis.

III. A CONFLICT BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND COUNTRY

There is great uncertainty and instability in the country at large, corresponding to the uncertainty and instability of the parliamentary situation. While crisis follows crisis in Parliament, the country undergoes

a crisis of transformation. Thus the parliamentary phenomena which are apparently determined by the caprice and will of the many groups into which the House is split up, have really a profound origin in the condition of the country. Italian public opinion is changing. This movement arises from the violent events, such as the bloody conflicts between Fascists and Nationalists on the one hand and Socialists on the other. But it is not exhausted in these episodes, just as revolutions and wars are not exhausted on the battlefield but have in themselves a secret spiritual process, which sometimes escapes contemporaries but which is clear in history. In Italy such a process is going on; and those who look deeply into the Italian political crisis have to consider the spiritual movement which is its cause.

Superficially considered, Nationalism and Fascism are only two systems of defense against the Socialist advance. Their action might be compared to the battle of the Piave, when the Italian army, retiring after suffering serious losses, turned unexpectedly on the enemy and defeated him. The economic crisis which followed the war; the conviction which spread throughout Italy that the Allies at the Peace Conference had sacrificed Italian interests to their imperialistic avidity, and had betrayed Italy in her expectations and her rights; the desire for peace and work; all these gave the Socialist party a strong impetus.

And the Socialist party took advantage of this situation to send to the House a large number of Representatives and to intensify its revolutionary action in the country, until in the summer of 1920 it made a true Bolshevik attempt. This attempt failed, not because of the slight resistance which the government made, but through the spontaneous reaction of the people. It was then revealed that the power of the Socialist party was fictitious. The Socialist party had ably taken advantage of the popular discontent, and had obtained an apparent success, but it had not gone deep. In fact, its victory had been an electoral one of an impetuous, violent, and brief nature like a fever.

From that day two elements in the Italian political crisis began to be clarified: First: the Italian Socialist party—which at the start had been a movement of the intellectual middle classes, indeed the movement of the young *intellectuals* of Italy—was reduced and continued to reduce itself more every day to a workmen's movement, losing all influence in the middle classes. Second: Nationalism and Fascism attracted all the youths who had been through the war. Nationalism, born before the war, was the movement of a group of intellectuals, not at all numerous but very active, and had encouraged Italian intervention. Fascism, born in that dark summer of 1920 which was to have seen the régime of the Soviets extended to Italy, was the movement of soldiers—young soldiers who, having served a great national cause for five years, felt that the nation they had defended was now threatened by revolutionary fury.

The intellectual movement, Nationalism, had had leaders; the spontaneous and popular movement, Fascism, had none and

thus assumed a violent character which nationalism had not had. But altogether Nationalism and Fascism were not class phenomena, and, although they commanded less power than Socialism, they found themselves nevertheless in a state of superiority. The young Fascists, almost all ex-soldiers belonging to all classes, from the great landed aristocracy to the city proletariat, burning with the ideal for which they had fought, threw themselves into the struggle and eradicated Socialism in the parts of northern Italy where it was strongest and most active.

This struggle has taken place in the last two years, and they are still fighting. Fascism is spreading and consolidating itself. Whole masses of Socialists pass to Fascism. In 1920 the Socialist party had 250,000 members; to-day it has only 70,000. Should the day come when Fascism begins to wane, it will nevertheless have given a mortal blow to the revolutionary movement.

The Nationalist and Fascist movement in itself is of less importance than is its general influence throughout the

country. Although they have a considerable power numerically, Nationalism and Fascism have still more importance through the example which they set by their direct action. Encouraged by the Nationalist example, all the other powers of conservatism arm and strengthen themselves against Socialism, creating a great movement of which it is difficult to give material indications, because it is not a movement of organizations that can be reduced to figures; it is rather a spiritual movement, as powerful as it is indefinite.

Its indetermination has created the unbalanced state which exists between public opinion and Parliament. It is a fact of common observation that a political move-



LUIGI FACTA, PREMIER OF ITALY

(Signor Facta became Prime Minister in February of the present year, resigned in July, and established a new ministry on August 1, after other parliamentary leaders had failed)

ment passes into Parliament but slowly. Parliament modifies its formation only at long intervals. Further, the electoral power of a single deputy (coalesced into the closed lists of political parties in a country like Italy, where voting is by list and not by candidate) presents a tenacious resistance to the assaults of new ideas. The present House of Representatives, elected at the beginning of the Fascist movement, and on the system of lists, no longer represents the state of public opinion. Public opinion is moving towards a program of order, economic liberty, reduction of the state expenses. Parliament, on the other hand, is still an assembly to a great extent formed of Socialists and men who have drawn their ideas from Socialism; not a revolutionary assembly, but a demagogic one, responsible for an internal policy of disorder and for a financial policy of extravagance.

This contrast explains the weakness and the precariousness of the cabinets. The Prime Ministers who succeed each other find themselves crushed between Parliament and public opinion. Parliament would like a government from the Left, public opinion a government from the Right. They resort to a mixture of men, which solves the problem of the formation of a cabinet but quickly comes up against the parliamentary difficulty that I have previously explained.

IV. A GENERAL ELECTION?

Many (and among them the oldest Italian statesman, Signor Giolitti) think that Italy cannot get out of this situation save by a fresh general election. The House must be opened to the new ideas and the new power. It is difficult to express an opinion on this subject. As I have already said, the young Italian Nationalist movement is vast, but not much organised; and it is doubtful if it could carry into Parliament all the power it commands in the country. Now if the general election failed in this object it is evident that the conflict between Parliament and public opinion would become even more serious, and therefore the problem which it is desired to solve would be aggravated. We must not forget that the Italian political crisis is merely one of transition. Violent in its origin, it cannot fail to be slow in its development. The essential point is to establish the direction of this development. As to this there is no doubt. Socialism in Italy has been beaten and is being transformed into a phenomenon of classes. The forces moving towards the conquest of government are conservative.

In the future history of these years will be told the notable example of a country whose spirit, on the verge of Bolshevism, found the force to reestablish internal order, and regain peace by slow but sure work.



ITALY'S EX-SOLDIERS, ADHERENTS OF THE FASCIST MOVEMENT, ENTERING MILAN IN AUGUST TO BREAK A GENERAL STRIKE DECLARED BY SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

EFFICIENCY IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

BY MARJORIE SHULER

PRACTICAL politicians and college professors who teach the principles of political science, legislators and lawyers, office-holders and every-day citizens are being brought together in a series of conferences which are an outstanding feature of the citizenship program of the women voters of the United States.

To provide a means of common discussion for those who are interested in the theory of government as well as for those who are responsible for the practical application of government, is an achievement. When the discussion is so arranged that prompt and decisive action is certain to follow, the achievement becomes noteworthy. This is what the women voters are doing by means of a series of conferences on efficiency in government.

The conferences are intended to provide an opportunity for the fullest and frankest discussion of local, county, and State government, with criticisms from competent experts and explanations from department executives—resulting in definite, clear-cut proposals for reform. "Less politics and more government" might be assumed to be the slogan for the conferences; and this object seems likely to be attained through the coming together in a wholly non-partisan fashion of office-holders and voters, representing all political parties and all shades of political opinion within the parties.

Virginia Leads the Way

It is significant of the march of events with regard to women that the first two of these conferences should have been called by Governors of Southern States, the first one in a State which crushingly defeated ratification of the federal woman suffrage amendment. Not only did the politicians of those States join with the women in the conferences, but the immediate aftermath was the appointment of women to government positions of authority such as they had never before held.

The conferences are part of the program of the committee on training for citizenship of the National League of Women Voters, of which Miss Belle Sherwin of Cleveland, Ohio, is chairman. Virginia was the first State to accede to the request of its local league for such a conference; and the two-day meeting at the capitol, called by the Governor, resulted in the formation of a voluntary, unpaid Commission on Simplification of the State Government. The commission has nine members—including Miss Adele Clark, chairman of the Virginia League of Women Voters—and is to report about June, 1923, in time for the candidates for the 1924 legislature to be elected on the issues for which they are to vote in the General Assembly. It is expected that due regard for the accepted principles of business and political science will be paid by the commission in the course of making a plan for the reorganization and simplification of all branches of the State Government, co-ordinating and eliminating wherever it deems it necessary. Two sets of recommendations are to be made: one for such changes as can be effected without Constitutional amendments, and the other for those which require Constitutional action.

The women went at the matter of securing the conference in a businesslike way. In addition to the official call sent out by Governor Westmoreland Davis, information regarding the meeting was issued by an executive committee composed of a few outstanding women leaders in all sorts of organizations and many men—State Senators, city managers, members of public commissions, college professors, and officials in legislative organizations.

The spirit of all of these conferences was epitomized in the speech made by President J. A. C. Chandler, of the College of William and Mary, who said:

The teaching of government has related too much to the organization of the facts of government, and not enough to its principles. Good citizenship must embrace varying phases of life, the building of

character, the ability to make a living, community interest, appreciation of art, participation in national government. . . . Too little has been known of the economic side of our government. Government is the result of intelligent service, and its teaching should lead to the practice of good citizenship. . . . The study of government does not mean simply the study of constitutions, but rather of how both State and nation function. Instead of formal books, our text-book should be our government at work. . . . The adult citizen must not be passed by lightly. Through community centers and in other ways we should teach government to the masses in nonpartisan fashion.

The conference wisely followed the policy of making few declarations of principle. It recommended the Commission on Simplification of State Government, which was immediately instituted, and its other endorsements were world peace, a children's code commission, rehabilitation of soldiers, the direct primary and "the introduction of some form of civil service into the State Government of Virginia."

Tennessee Wins Second Honors

Significant of the impression which the conferences are making is the fact that when Governor Alf Taylor answered the appeal of the Tennessee League of Women Voters, and called a two-day meeting in the House of Representatives at Nashville, not one man invited to speak declined to do so. As a result, delegates from all over the State heard speeches by many public officials, in addition to Mrs. John M. Kenny, president of the League. There was considerable discussion of the condition of the jails throughout the State, and the conference went on record in favor of women on the State Board of Control.

A number of other States are following the suggestion of the National League of Women Voters for select conferences of public officials and informed and interested citizens, to be followed later by general conferences.

The women of Pennsylvania started to have such a preliminary meeting and ended

by selling 1,400 tickets for a one-day session in Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania League of Women Voters had initiated and secured the passage by the State legislature of a bill for a Commission on Reorganization of the State Government. Mrs. John O. Miller, president of the League, who had served on the State Constitutional Revision Commission in 1920, was responsible for the bill; and the conference gave considerable time to its discussion. Mrs. Miller was made a member of the new commission, and Governor Sproul has since announced his intention of calling a conference on efficiency in government when the commission is ready with its report.

Connecticut, Illinois and Ohio have had similar conferences, the one in Ohio resulting in the organization of a State Committee on efficiency in government, composed of public-spirited men and women, a few officials, and representatives of the State university and of several research bureaus. Subcommittees on election laws, local government, and taxation have been appointed, and an institute on taxation was held. The institute covered two days, and there were lectures by economic experts on the taxation problems of the communities and the State of Ohio.

Kentucky has had a conference emphasizing the direct primary; New Jersey has had one centering around the city-manager form of government; and Texas has had one at which the primary, election laws, and taxation were discussed.

It is in such practical and definite ways as these that women are putting their citizenship to the best account—not drawing off in sex groups to criticize and blame and condemn present conditions of government, but enlisting the coöperation of the many men who have an equal desire for right administration of the laws, and then crystallizing public opinion back of practicable, common-sense, and wise changes.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

The Victorious Turk

COMMENTS of the British press on the war between the Turks and the Greeks are largely pessimistic. Speaking of the diplomatic situation, the *Manchester Guardian* says bluntly that "Turkey and Greece are once more at war, and France, Italy and England are pulling the strings of this perfectly useless and necessarily inconclusive slaughter."

Even if Greece had succeeded in repelling the Turkish attack, matters would have stood exactly as before. On the other hand, while the success of the Turks may enable them to recover a certain amount of ground, they would not be any nearer the final settlement, which depends not on the Greeks but on the great powers who are in control of the Straits and of Constantinople. These powers—France, Italy and Great Britain—must agree among themselves before any settlement whatever can be reached. But so far from acting in agreement, each of these powers has charged the other with inventing obstacles and imposing unacceptable conditions. But why, asks the *Manchester Guardian*, should there be any conditions at all?

Do we, when a house is on fire, make conditions as to calling in the fire brigade? Much more than a house is on fire just now in Asia Minor, and men are killing each other and will go on killing each other, and men, women, and children are being and will be massacred, and a whole countryside may go up in flames—as much of it as is not already burnt—because of the rivalries and the greed of Foreign Offices and concession-hunters and because the men who, to our sorrow, represent their different countries in this matter can not make up their minds to look at the great common interests involved and to recognize how infinitely more important they are than the paltry matters of particular profit or imaginary prestige on which alone they appear at present to be intent.

Reviewing the diplomatic record, the *Guardian* shows that a formal agreement as to Turkey has been reached by the powers at least three times:

During the war they agreed to break up and divide not only the Turkish Empire but in effect

the Turkish homeland in Asia Minor. That agreement was superseded by another in the Treaty of Sèvres, which confirmed the cutting off of the Turkish Empire and considerably modified the European control of the lands inhabited by Turks. The objection of the Turks to being controlled at all without their own consent, and their consequent revolt from the tame government of Constantinople and repudiation of its signature to the Sèvres Treaty, so far as this related to themselves, destroyed the basis of that treaty, and a fresh basis of agreement had to be sought. It was duly found by the Conference of Ambassadors which met in Paris at the beginning of the present year, and was embodied in a document which was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy on March 26. But it was not sufficient that the powers should agree; it was necessary that Greece and Turkey also should agree. Neither of them did so, and unhappily the powers, insincerely and calamitously seeking to promote each its own aims, encouraged them, actually backed and supported them in a fresh trial of strength like fighting cocks in a cock-pit. It was a discreditable and destructive proceeding, and not one of the three powers is free from blame in this wretched business.

As to the last Greek offensive, the *Guardian* admits that encouragement was given by England to the Greeks. Although this may have been merely moral encouragement, there came to be a general conviction in Greece that Constantinople was being held out as the reward of Greek success. This was enough to put fresh heart into the Greek army and to enable the government to impose new burdens on a people that was already almost exhausted. France and Italy, on the other hand, have given direct support to the Turks in the shape of munitions and equipment.

Declaring that no one can pretend that the position is satisfactory or that it redounds to the honor of any of the powers concerned, the *Guardian* summarizes some of the elements of the problem which sooner or later must be settled if there is to be peace in the Near East:

There are the securities for the freedom of the Straits. They must be absolute and they must be international. All the Danubian states are directly interested; Russia is enormously interested. So is

Turkey; so, in various degrees, is all the Western and even the Eastern world. The Treaty of Sèvres recognized this. It provided for the demilitarization of the shores of the Straits and for permanent international control under direction of the League of Nations. So much at least of the treaty must stand.

There is next the safeguarding of minorities in Europe and Asia—of the Greek and Armenian minorities in Asia and of the Turkish in Europe—from ill-usage and massacre. With a general settlement, genuinely accepted by both parties, the violence of feeling would be less, and time would bring healing; but for a time securities would be needed, securities of force present and available and not merely paper securities, during the period of transition. They should be made equally applicable, and by the same machinery alike in Thrace and Macedonia and in Asia Minor. This would cost a little money, a trifle compared with the resulting gain, and the money must of course be found. It would be a small matter if divided among the nations concerned. It would pay Great Britain, if needful, to guarantee it.

There is, finally, the question of boundaries east and west. There must be a refuge for Armenians, an independent Armenia, somewhere. Angora, still recalcitrant on this, will have to give way, as already, by the mouth of Fethy Bey—that unhappily neglected ambassador—she has given way on the question of the control of the Straits. She might well be compensated by some concession on the doubtful Kurdish frontier in the east. Under the necessary securities it has been agreed that all Asia Minor shall be hers. In Europe she can look for no material advance on the Sèvres Treaty frontier. The less she turns her eyes westward the better for her peace and ours. Constantinople will remain to her as at least a nominal capital; Angora will be her real one.

There is nothing deeply disputed in these terms. They have all at one time or another been accepted by the powers. All that is needed is to give them definite shape. Why can not the powers meet without more ado for the purpose? There need be no preliminary conditions whatever beyond those dictated by the facts of case and by the common humanity and statesmanship.

Germany and the League of Nations

THE question whether Germany should apply for admission to the League of Nations at the current session of the Assembly in Geneva is discussed in the *Contemporary Review* (London) for September by Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, who will be remembered as a former Colonial Minister of Germany and a visitor to the United States shortly after the outbreak of the Great War. At the outset, Dr. Dernburg raises the question whether an application for membership on Germany's part would not mean that she had dropped her protest against certain portions of the Versailles Treaty and should be considered as having thereby assented to the whole of the Treaty. As portions of the Treaty to which special exception is taken, Dr. Dernburg refers to the charge that Germany caused the war and also to the assertion that Germany must be deprived of her colonies because she had been brutal to her native wards and could not be trusted to treat them fairly and benevolently. On this point Dr. Dernburg says:

Having held the office of Colonial Secretary for four years, when I came in friendly contact with administrators of a number of British dependencies, I can say that this allegation is absolutely baseless; that we constantly strove to better the state of our colored subjects; that we surrounded them with all possible guarantees, and took the best care for their physical welfare and spiritual advancement. That we did as well as our neighbors, and sometimes even better, was fully recognized by British experts. The dishonesty of the proceedings is emphasized by

Mr. Lansing's statement that the mandate system was mostly resorted to in order to avoid the necessity of crediting Germany for its outlay in and its loans to the colonies.

Among the many other grievances of the treaty this stigma is our main complaint. What rôle would Germany play in the League if she appeared without this spot removed, which allows any second-rate power that went to war with Germany for profit and advancement to sneer at us? The less actual power we possess the more we must depend upon moral influence to be useful in the League at all.

As to responsibility for the war, Dr. Dernburg urges that as a first step, there should be the dropping of mutual recriminations, a frank confession that the war was a world blunder that dare not be repeated, and the avowal that the League of Nations means a new era in world relations. This, he asserts, is the German conception of the League. The League, as constituted, is criticized because of the directive and executive powers of the Council and the comparatively small field left to the Assembly. He believes that the League lacks the essentials of democracy.

The Council has too much, the Assembly too little power. All decisions should issue from the Assembly or its committees, and the Council should be executive. But not only in this respect must the League be democratized. Its members should be chosen, not by the governments, but by and from the parliaments of the various nations. All this can be found in the German counter-draft to the respective paragraphs in the Peace Treaty. Since the United States seems decided to stand aside, the League will always

be a rump. It should therefore be considered whether the European members cannot find a form of closer cooperation and create an instrument by which purely European questions, such as Upper Silesia, could be decided by Europeans alone. We feel that without such changes the League will remain ineffective.

In spite of his objections to the League as at present organized, Dr. Dernburg is himself convinced that Germany should apply for admission:

If the old system of force and brutality stands condemned and abhorred by civilization, there must be something else that is effective to replace it. The League of Nations is a serious effort to create such an effective instrument, but only if and when all the great European powers become members and whole-heartedly coöperate. If the League fails, one reason will be its incompleteness. I should not wish that the blame should fall on my country for such failure. Despite our experiences and the ill-will of some leading members, Germany should apply on certain conditions. They would be as follows:

Firstly, we must be reasonably sure that our application will be accepted by an overwhelming majority, and by all the Great Powers, save perhaps France. Secondly, it should be fully understood that, in adhering to the Covenant, we do not renounce the protests that we made against the Treaty or against the League's decision on Upper Silesia; but on the contrary, that we intend to use the League to revise in an orderly, peaceful way the Treaty and such of its consequences as may yet be remedied. Thirdly, until the League be democratized as outlined above, Germany should be at once accepted in the Council as one of its permanent members, as a measure due to her size and importance and as a sort of rehabilitation from the imputations of the Peace Treaty. Fourthly, international agreements concluded by Germany before she entered the League should be recognized by the League as binding between Germany and her partner (the Rapallo treaty). Fifthly, for considerations of justice and equality, as well as policy, at least one of the Colonial mandates should be entrusted to her,



THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY, SR. AUGUSTIN EDWARDS, CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

and the League should undertake to negotiate in this direction. Finally, there should be an understanding that at any rate England agrees to such a program. We have many good reasons why we should not become members, political as well as sentimental, but we should scrap them in the general interest, and show thereby that we enter fully into the spirit of a true Society of Nations. I would therefore, on the conditions and understandings which I have outlined, and which I consider necessary or reasonable, advise my government to apply for membership of the League as soon as the necessary consent of the Reichstag can be obtained.

Industrial Courts

THE only State court of industrial relations is that of Kansas. In the September number of *Administration* (New York) Gov. Henry J. Allen, under whose administration this institution was organized and has thus far operated, comments briefly on the purpose and activities of the court. As is now well understood, the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations in no way interferes with the voluntary adjustment of disputes between employer and employee, but it does regulate the methods in those cases in which the public at large is an interested party. It has jurisdiction in all industrial disputes connected

with the manufacture of food products necessary for the preservation of life and with the manufacture of clothing required for public comfort. Its jurisdiction is also extended over all persons engaged in the mining or transportation of fuels used for domestic or industrial purposes. It also has the power to pass upon industrial disputes arising in connection with public utilities, and to enforce its decisions the court may invoke the powers of the Kansas Supreme Court.

In the same number of *Administration* Mr. William L. Stoddard, formerly administrator on the National War Labor Board,

gives a brief survey of the industrial court machinery thus far erected in Great Britain, Australia and Denmark. The British Industrial Court has as its chairman a government official, while its members are representatives of employers, workers and the public, appointed by the Ministry of Labor. This court is to be resorted to only when all other means for settling disputes have failed.

The Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in Australia was created in 1904, and its jurisdiction is federal, dealing with what we would term interstate disputes. Parties to a case in this court are bound by law to obey the award made by the court, but no award is made if it is possible to bring about an agreement.

Both the Australian and the British industrial courts, says Mr. Stoddard, are the outgrowth of years of experiment with voluntary arbitration, mediation and conciliation. Both, to some extent, employ mediation and conciliation; both strive to develop the principle of collective agreements. This leads us to consider the Danish Industrial Court, an institution that has been in existence more than a dozen years and yet is practically unknown in the United States. A study of this court was recently published by Mr. John Koren, and this is the first record of its history and methods made available in English in this country. This Danish court is described as a direct lineal descendant of a private board or court of arbitration, established in 1899 by agreement between organized employers and organized labor. That earlier court of arbitration worked successfully for ten years, but failed during a strike of the photographers in 1908. As one outcome of that great strike, the structure of the Industrial Court was drafted by a conference of representatives of the employers' associations and the labor unions, and was later embodied in a statute. The main purpose of the Danish court, as interpreted by Mr. Koren, "is that industrial disputes should be brought under a legal review, so that rights may be established and not merely fought over blindly. To this end a clear line is drawn between disputes over special interests and disputes over rights. The former are largely regarded as matters to be settled by private boards of arbitration within the crafts. The latter must be maintained by law, and relate chiefly to questions of contract between employers and the

labor unions, and the activities of the court therefore center about matters of labor agreements." There is thus a structure of voluntary courts, representing the several crafts, and at the top of this structure an industrial or labor court, whose chief duty is to uphold the craft boards of arbitration. It has the power to impose penalties for lack of respect for a board of arbitration, for violations of awards of arbitration boards, and for refusal either of employer or of employees to arbitrate.

This Danish Industrial Court is described as the outgrowth of a highly organized condition of industry. In a country where much of the labor is unorganized as in the United States, such a court could not be successfully imitated. It is essentially an arbitration court, developed as a result of collective agreements. It is based on the recognition of "collective responsibility."

Speaking of the general attitude in this country towards courts and boards of arbitration, Mr. Stoddard says:

The virtual abandonment, in many industrial States, of state boards of arbitration indicates that the prejudice against governmental intervention in labor controversies is still powerful. The spread of the employee representation movement, side by side with the open shop movement, suggests at once that employers, to speak for one side alone, look askance both at governmental projects and at trade union agreements. Since an industrial court must almost by necessity deal with trade union agreements, thus directly encouraging such contracts, and since a court is, by definition, a governmental agency, it would seem that the time for establishing such an authority is not ripe. Certainly this is true of the nation as a whole; it is probably also true of the vast majority of the States. It is also worth remarking that the most ambitious industrial court ever established in this country, the Railroad Labor Board, has within the last two months had its prestige severely damaged. Without any desire to enter into a political controversy, it will in all probability be the verdict of history that if the Administration at Washington had unfalteringly backed this institution, public opinion would have supported it whole-heartedly. The Labor Board provided theoretically complete means of adjusting issues which could not be settled by the collective bargaining machinery carefully built up over a long period of years by the railroad labor unions and the railroads themselves. What it lacked was what the Administration could have given it at the critical time, namely, some kind of real power to enforce its decisions. We are reminded, by contrast, of the Danish Court which has always had power behind it. The chief virtue of the Kansas Court, as Governor Allen has often said, is that it has "punch." But there is a decided difference between "punch" imposed by legislation, which is necessarily always a compromise among conflicting interests, and "punch" imposed by the common sense of parties to a contract of agreement.

Chicago's Clearing House for Freight

ACCORDING to an article in the *Greater Chicago Magazine* (Chicago, Ill.), the "package freight system" has proved a boon to the small-town merchants who do their buying in the midwestern metropolis. This system is operated by the Chicago Junction Railway, which has four union freight houses, to which freight in less than car lots is brought from shippers all over the city. Here it is sorted and reloaded into cars of appropriate destination. A carefully planned system of routes then carries it promptly through to the consignee. The union freight houses thus serve the purpose of clearing houses for the freight business of the thirty-nine railroads which enter Chicago, and which have, in that city, more than 100 railroad yards for the despatch of freight shipments. The system is thus described:

The term "Chicago package freight" is synonymous with service. It enables distant merchants to keep their stocks up to date, and therefore plays an important part in the life of the community.

Through the Association of Commerce, in co-operation with the railroads and shippers, Chicago has developed a wonderful package freight car method of shipping less than carload lots. By this system all consignments to a given point are consolidated so that delays in making transfers are avoided.

Before the days of this system small shipments went out in a haphazard sort of way and the merchant in Waco, Texas, or some other such point, considered himself lucky if the piano he ordered for Christmas arrived some time around Easter. Now he gets it in five days.

Through package freight reaches Jackson, Miss., in three days, Tampa, Fla., in five, Fort Worth and Dallas, Tex., in four, and Nashville in two. Almost any point in Illinois or Indiana is reached the morning after the day of shipment.

This merchandise service is the result of years of study of the needs of the small-town merchant and a thorough analysis of the country's vast network of rail transportation. By way of illustration of what had to be overcome it may be stated that there are more than 200 different ways of routing freight from Chicago to Charlotte, N. C., but only one route has a through package car.

It required several years of study to determine the quickest and most economical route to this point. Test shipments were made over many of the 200 different routes, and in some instances shippers' representatives or representatives of the Association of Commerce freight traffic bureau made personal inspections.

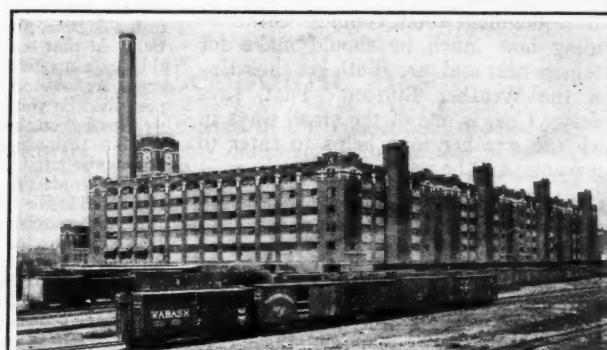
As to the magnitude of this system it is stated that an average of 2500 cars of "package freight" leave Chicago every day, bound for 1800 shipping points, from which 60,000 other points can be reached with one transfer. The daily tonnage of freight is about 25,000, with an average value estimated at more than \$30,000,000.

As to the *modus operandi* of the system, we read:

The big shipper loads his shipment directly into cars at his factory. If he has loaded into one car a number of packages going to different destinations, that car is moved from the factory track at 6:00 P. M. It is taken to the universal freight station and placed at the platform ready for unloading at 7:00 A. M. on the following day.

When the shipper loads his car he places the billing in a box for that purpose at the factory door. At 6:00 P. M. a Chicago Junction Railway automobile collects all these bills and takes them to the freight station. A night force of clerks figures the rates and makes out the way-bills. At noon the following day the bills are returned to the shipper. At 7:00 A. M. the cars at the universal freight station are unloaded and the packages are sorted. Each package is placed in a car going to the destination of that package. Electric elevators connect the five warehouse floors with the loading and transfer platforms, greatly facilitating the work of getting the freight to its destination. At 2:00 P. M. the shipments have all been sorted and reloaded, and at 6:00 P. M. the Chicago Junction Railway takes the cars to the various trunk lines. It has direct connection with every system entering Chicago.

For the smaller shipper who has no direct railway connections and who probably would not be able to fill a car with assorted packages, the union freight station is a great convenience and time saver. He loads his truck with freight going out on a dozen roads and takes it all to the Chicago Junction, where it is sorted and transferred, instead of making stops at the freight stations of twelve roads. It is not necessary for the shipper to send his packages to a



THE GREAT UNION STATION AT CHICAGO FOR PACKAGE FREIGHT

down-town freight house or to any consolidated car loader to get prompt service, as all scheduled cars are so handled that they leave Chicago in through merchandise trains and get the same service as cars from the down-town freight houses, thus saving time, transfer and damage frequently caused by transfer. The trunk lines are working in harmony with the Chicago Junction and are striving to put into operation as many more of these cars as possible.

A large percentage of Chicago's package freight goes through the union freight houses of the Chicago Junction Railway. The loading platforms of the freight stations and the shipping rooms in the large

wholesale houses, chiefly dry goods, are veritable beehives of industry. At one of the large dry goods houses an average of 1200 packages are put up and shipped daily. At some of the wholesale grocery houses the average is even higher. Thousands of persons are employed in the shipping rooms of these big stores. On the loading platforms of the Chicago Junction Railway there is a force of several thousand men.

Chicago merchandise handled by package freight is distributed more economically, rapidly and efficiently than it can be done anywhere else in the world.

Doing Business by the Weather

"THE weather," says Prof. Henry J. Cox, of the U. S. Weather Bureau, writing in the *American Magazine*, "has a finger in almost every business pie; and the weather man is important because he can tell, in advance, what kind of trouble this finger is going to stir up—or whether it will stir up any at all."

This remark strikes the key-note of an article bristling with interesting information, for the most part novel to the public at large, to business men, and even to meteorologists. Professor Cox's position as Weather Bureau forecaster for the district of which Chicago is the center has supplied him in plenty with the kind of material which somebody will eventually put together to form a text-book on commercial meteorology.

Wideawake business men consult the official weather forecasts. It is not mere luck that the proprietor of a soda fountain has plenty of ice-cream for the hot weather crowds, and does not have more than he can sell during spells of cool weather. Neither does the manufacturer of ice-cream trust to his own judgment about coming weather in deciding how much he should make for customers near and far. Both get their tips from the Weather Bureau. That, says Professor Cox, is one of the small ways in which the weather man helps to cater to your wants; and he adds:

Here is an example of one of the bigger ways: Suppose you live in a Northern town or city, and a hard freeze comes. Do you realize that if it were not for the Weather Bureau you would have to pay more for your fruit and vegetables during the next few days? You certainly would, if the commission merchants did not have the official forecasts.

Here in Chicago, the wholesale grocers and commission men receive and send out daily shipments of these commodities. They always consult the weather map in advance. If it shows that a cold

wave is coming, they send their goods in refrigerator cars, where they can be protected.

If there is a warning of a cold snap when a shipment is due, they arrange to install heaters in the cars and to defer unloading. Or if there is warning of a hot spell in summer they make arrangements to unload immediately, so as to get the goods into cold storage. In these ways they save thousands of dollars; and you reap the benefit of this saving.

Cheese, for example, is a very perishable article; and when the weather forecast indicates that the thermometer is going down to fifteen degrees, commission men never ship this commodity, except in refrigerator cars. Even then, the cheese must not be in transit more than forty-eight hours.

Eggs, also, deteriorate quickly in extremes of heat or of cold, unless they are properly protected. If they are shipped in ordinary box cars when the outside temperature is below twenty-six degrees, there is great danger of their freezing.

Chicago wholesale dealers in eggs make constant use of the weather map, not only because they want to know when to ship but also because they want to know how plentiful eggs will be. In the cold season, the quantity of eggs laid by hens depends on the weather. Winter before last was so mild that the hens in the central plains States were two months ahead of their regular schedule; early in February they were laying eggs at a rate they do not usually achieve until April. This caused a big drop in prices.

When the temperature goes down to twenty degrees, egg-laying is decidedly checked. If it goes to ten degrees, practically all the hens take a vacation. At that temperature their combs freeze; and this has a mysterious connection with the laying of eggs. A snowstorm will shut off the egg supply temporarily. So you see how important a bearing the weather has on the price of your breakfast. Dealers regulate their shipments according to it; and they also advise retailers when and how much to buy.

If you confess to a fondness for onions, you will be interested in the following facts: There is a Chicago firm, with warehouses in various sections of Illinois, which deals exclusively in onion sets, shipping them all over the United States. Sending these sets to farmers for planting is so important that the Government placed them on the priority list with the railroads a few years ago. During January and February about 125,000 bushels are shipped, with a value of around \$300,000. The company is always guided by the weather forecasts in making these shipments; for if they were sent out just ahead of a

cold wave the loss would be many thousands of dollars.

Another man who anxiously consults the weather report is the manufacturer of ink, or of mucilage. You probably know by experience that a bottle of ink is ruined by freezing. But what if you were shipping ink in carload lots?

I know of a case, back in 1911, where a dealer was saved a big loss because he read the weather forecast. It was in November, a month when, as a rule, ink could be safely shipped in box cars in the Middle West. As a matter of fact, on the afternoon of November 11th, when this dealer planned to ship a large quantity of ink, the temperature in Chicago was 74 degrees. But by ten o'clock the next morning it had fallen to 13 degrees—a drop of 61 degrees in twenty hours! The dealer fortunately received our warning of this cold wave and saved himself a big loss.

Foreknowledge of the weather is very valuable in many kinds of construction work. Concrete can not be laid satisfactorily at a temperature lower than 24°, and fresh concrete must be protected from rain. A job of painting exposed to rain a few hours after the paint is put on needs to be done over. Stage scenery is painted in water colors; hence it is ruined if hauled on unprotected trucks in a storm.

Other activities that are greatly concerned with the weather include the street-cleaning department, which must be ready with teams and men for heavy snowstorms, and the gas and electric companies, which must supply increased illumination when lowering clouds prevail.

Many classes of advertising are, or ought to be, founded on the weather forecasts.

The advertising manager of a large department store says that if "fair-weather goods" are advertised in the papers on a rainy day, it will result in a loss of from 50 to 100 per cent. of the cost of the advertisement, depending on the intensity and duration of the storm! In other words, a "fair-weather"

advertisement, sometimes costing several thousand dollars, brings only a small return in immediate sales if it appears on a stormy day. It is useful as general publicity, of course. But it would have paid in *immediate* business, if it had been written to fit the weather.

Dealers in clothing advertise coats and heavy garments when a cold wave is predicted. They know that a lot of people will find themselves shivering when they read the morning paper, and will be attracted by advertisements of warm clothing. One rubber shoe company uses the weather forecasts to advantage, circularizing a section where the predictions indicate that their goods will be in demand at a certain time.

The best time to advertise umbrellas and rubbers is on a rainy day, or on the day *after* a rain. The explanation of the day-after idea is that people were caught unprepared the day before, or that they took their umbrellas and rubbers out with them and then left them some place. Possibly they loaned these articles to friends; and with the wisdom gained by previous experience, they don't expect to see their umbrellas and rubbers again; so they think they might as well buy new ones.

If an autumn day is going to be crisp and cold, winter goods are advertised; but if these goods were advertised on a summer-like fall day, the cost of the "ad" would be practically a dead loss so far as that one day's sales are concerned. Forecasts a day in advance are usually sufficient for advertising purposes.

A certain dealer in automobile tires had an expensive lesson along this line. He frequently places advertising in the Chicago papers at a cost of \$500 dollars for one day's insertion. He did this formerly without consulting the weather map. But when his five hundred dollars' worth of advertising turned out one day to be worth nothing, in the immediate business it brought in, simply because it appeared on a very stormy autumn day, he learned the connection between weather and business.

My advice to any person whose business is likely to be affected by weather changes is to obtain the Weather Bureau publications that may be useful to him—most of them are free—and to get in touch daily, over the telephone, with the nearest weather station whenever it is a critical period. That is what many business men are doing now; and they are finding that it is saving them both money and trouble.

"Game" as an Economic Asset

PROBABLY most persons regard "game" as mammals (or birds), which are in a state of nature, and may be legally killed, during certain "seasons," for "sport" or profit. The idea that such creatures constitute an actual economic asset to a nation or State, and may be a real source of gain to the government to which they rightfully belong, probably does not occur to the average citizen.

The matter of the origin or development of "game laws," as such, need not be con-

sidered in this connection, the province of this discussion being primarily to review the subject of game in its economic significance, so far as it has any which affects the general public. When one begins to consider the matter in this light, he is likely to make some rather surprising discoveries, which are quite aside from the point of view of the sportsman. For there is still, and always has been, in this country, a good deal of wild game, which may fairly be made not only a source of food, and a means of legiti-

mate recreation, but an object from which, directly or indirectly, considerable revenue may accrue to the nation or States.

A consideration of this subject, as thorough as the circumstances will permit, is embodied in the bulletin, "Game as a National Resource," prepared and published by the Bureau of Biological Survey, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, from the results of investigations made by Dr. T. S. Palmer, expert in game conservation. This bulletin (No. 1049) was published first in the spring of the present year, and is an important and interesting bit of economic literature, which deserves a fuller consideration than can be given to it in this connection.

Dr. Palmer begins with the rather astonishing statement that probably more than 6,000,000 persons in the United States engage annually in hunting during the open season. Furthermore, he says, the annual value of wild-life resources of the United States may be placed at several hundred million dollars.

Game is produced in every State in the Union, but, as Dr. Palmer remarks, "the importance of game resources to any region is indicated by the extent to which they are advertised by transportation lines and by local interests fortunate enough to possess game. The needs of sportsmen in the way of weapons, ammunition, special clothing and other equipment form the foundation of business enterprises of considerable magnitude. The investment in shooting preserves owned by individuals and clubs runs into large figures and makes of productive value many areas of little or no use."

Specifically the kinds of game of which Dr. Palmer makes somewhat definite reports as to its economic status, are deer, elk, moose, rabbits, quail, waterfowl, mountain goats and mountain sheep. All of these have more or less food value. It appears that more than one-fourth of the States now have no deer-hunting, either because the animals have been exterminated, or because they have become so reduced in numbers that they need protection. He says that an estimate of the total number of deer killed throughout the United States in 1910 gave from 75,000 to 80,000, and a similar estimate for 1915 showed about 75,000. "If," he remarks, "the average dressed weight of a deer is taken as 150 pounds, the total weight of 75,000 deer is 11,250,000 pounds. At ten cents a pound this meat would be worth \$1,250,000, and at twenty cents a pound it would be worth \$2,500,000."

The lordly elk, a magnificent creature, formerly occurred and were hunted in nearly every State, but the hunting is now restricted to a few counties in Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, and even there the number is restricted now to one to each hunter. It is a much heavier animal than the buck common deer, and is economically much more valuable as a source of food supply; but it must have reserves and be carefully protected or it will become extinct, probably within a comparatively few years. "No big game animal," remarks Dr. Palmer, "is easier to raise on a preserve or in semi-domestication than elk when suitably located and provided with food."

In Canada, the chief game-meat producers are moose and caribou. Moose are still hunted in Minnesota and Maine, but the center of moose-hunting in eastern North America is in New Brunswick, which has an excellent, and mainly well-enforced game-act. "In New Brunswick," as Dr. Palmer says, "they are found in all counties, and in Nova Scotia are hunted in all sections except on Cape Breton Island, where they have been protected for a number of years. This gives an area of 16,500 square miles in Maine, 28,000 square miles in New Brunswick, and 18,300 in Nova Scotia, or a total of 62,800 square miles—a little less than the area of New England. In this region nearly 3000 moose were recorded as killed in 1914, and probably at least 3500 were actually killed that season. As each hunter is limited to a single (bull) moose this indicates that more than 3000 persons hunted moose."

To which it may be added that inasmuch as a large bull moose, will weigh about four times as much as a heavy buck (white-tail) deer, its value, as a food supply source, is correspondingly greater. For its edible flesh, though coarser in fiber than a deer's, makes excellent and nourishing food.

Rabbits [says Dr. Palmer] constitute probably the largest, cheapest and most generally available supply of game in the United States. . . . The jack-rabbits of the West, which are a serious pest in some States, are destroyed in enormous numbers—sometimes as many as 10,000 in a single drive—but only a relatively small number are placed on the market and find their way to Eastern States. . . . The Conservation Commission of New York estimated that about 465,000 cottontails were killed in 1918 in New York; the Game Commission of Pennsylvania estimated that in the open season of 1919 about 2,700,000 rabbits were killed in that State; and a game survey of Virginia for 1920 shows 293,625 killed in that State. . . . Perhaps it is not too much to assume that the total number of rabbits



A GROUP OF VIRGINIA WILD DEER

killed annually in the United States is not less than four for each hunter, or a total of about 25,000,000. Ordinarily rabbits were sold at from 10 to 30 cents apiece, but in the autumn of 1920 they retailed for as much as 50 or even 75 cents each. At an average of only 20 cents each the value of this supply of meat would be not less than \$5,000,000 annually, but more important than its value is the fact that a nutritious and relatively cheap meat is distributed and made available to persons who can ill afford to pay high prices for beef, mutton and pork. . . .

The hunting license fees now required in most States constitute a comparatively modern source of income, dating back only to 1895. Since that year, when the hunting license system was in force in only a few States, it has been greatly extended, until now every State requires non-residents to obtain hunting licenses, and all but three—Delaware, Mississippi and North Carolina—make similar requirements of residents. . . .

Owing to the fact that a few States have not required licenses from residents, that most States

allow persons to hunt on their own land without licenses, and that some States combine hunting and fishing licenses, the license returns do not afford an accurate index of the numbers of hunters.

. . . It was estimated prior to the war that under ordinary conditions the number of persons hunting in the United States was approximately 5,000,000. Granting that 10 per cent. of this number were non-residents, persons exempt from license requirements, and persons hunting without licenses, there were 4,500,000 who should obtain resident licenses. At \$1 each the gross receipts would amount to \$4,500,000. Returns from 17 States in 1914 and figures from 17 other States for a normal year preceding the war showed that about 15,400 licenses were issued to non-residents. . . .

The fees for these licenses varied from \$5 to \$50, but most of them ranged from \$10 to \$25. If the average fee be considered to be \$15, the average gross receipts from non-residents would be \$300,000. The total gross receipts from licenses should therefore amount to \$4,800,000 per annum.

Oral Funeral Rites in Ireland and Elsewhere

ONE ponders (if one happens to have been born and bred in some inland country village) as the motor hearse and the attendant car speed through the traffic of the town, whether it would not be wiser and more human to revert to primitive manners—whether the “keening” of the Irish in the West or the folk funeral feasts of Teuton and

Latin are not more civilized than our unseemly hurrying away of the clay tenement?

The ethnologists are now greatly concerned with the primitive tribes in Australia as material for the investigation of those customs among them which seem to have sprung from a sense of duty to the tribe or community. M. Marcel Mauss in

the *Journal de Psychologie* tells of the crying for the dead, or keening, which is general in southeastern Queensland. The keening lasts as long as the interval between the first and second burial. Fixed hours are assigned for it. For about ten minutes before the sun rises and before the sun sets, the entire camp to which the dead man belonged begins to wail and lament. These cries and groans are often melodious and rhythmical. Compare this description with the Irish wake in Synge's "Riders to the Sea":

The door opens softly and old women begin to come in—they are keening softly and swaying themselves with a slow movement.

In Australia, as in Ireland, the oral funeral rites are exclusively delegated to the women. The mother, the sisters, and especially the widow intone the recitative of the dirge to which the other women reply in chorus. Synge, whether instinctively or as an actual observation, followed this rite in the play and Maurya, the mother, tells the story of the sons "who're all gone now, and there isn't anything more the sea can do to me. . . . I'll have no call now to be going down and getting holy water in the dark night after Samhain, and I won't care what way the sea is when the other women will be keening."

The Australian mother in the same way would curse the enemy or force of nature that robbed her or Death itself. Some of the chants are more elemental and scarcely go beyond exclamation, affirmative or interrogative, as: "Where is my nephew, the only one I have?" To this the wife of the dead man answers: "My husband is dead." There is nothing elegiac and lyric, but simple descriptions or recitals of facts as if bearing testimony that the tribe is not to blame. There is never the touch of sentiment of the Irish sisters:

Cathleen: "Ah, Nora, isn't it a better thing to think of him floating that way to the far north, and no one to keen him but the black hags that do be flying on the sea."

Or the Irish mother's:

He's gone now and when the black night is falling I'll have no son left me in the world.

The chorus of the women keening in the Australian tribes has a definite meaning which is now lost to us in the Irish equivalent. M. Mauss quotes Strehlow to the effect that the cry of *bānbān* chanted in a low key by the Arunta and Loritza mourn-

ers is a command to the evil cause of death to depart from the dead.

The intrusion of every-day cares is absent from the Australian rites, but there is gross vulgarity in their imprecations against the Evil Magician who has brought death to the tribe. The Irish humor is veiled and full of character. The sister in the "Riders to the Sea" says to an old man:

"Maybe yourself and Eamon would make a coffin when the sun rises. We have fine white boards herself bought, God help her . . . and I have a new cake you can eat while you'll be working."

The Old Man: "Are there nails with them?"

Cathleen (the sister): "There are not, Colum; we didn't think of the nails."

Another man: "It's a great wonder she wouldn't think of the nails, and all the coffins she's seen made already."

The Australian women of the western tribes sometimes scratch and punch each other in order to excite proper moans of pain, but in Ireland the keening serves the more merciful purpose of bringing on the oblivion of exhaustion in the distracted mourners.

In all of the primitive people a certain pleasure is felt in the proper observance of these public funeral ceremonies—at its highest point an outlet for the personal emotion and at its lowest ebb a satisfaction of the mere animal gregarious instinct. A curious instance of a frank avowal of this latter sentiment is current in the jest books of the Bavarian Tyrolese. A peasant returning from his wife's funeral mass to the house where the funeral "baked meats" are to be served tells the driver: "Don't put me with my mother-in-law—*sonst freut mich nit de ganze Leich* (the whole wake'll be spoilt)!" Nearer home, any dweller among the Southern negroes can bear witness to the impossibility of keeping a cook or nurse away from any funeral whatsoever within a radius of ten miles and to the equal impossibility of divorcing them from their sable weeds, if any relative to the ninth degree has involuntarily given any plausible excuse for mourning.

The Appalachian Mountain people follow the Australian ritual in so far that the body of the dead is carried on the shoulders of the future avengers who are his blood kin. But the wife of the Southern feudist, like Sinding's sculptured widow, crouches in ambush with the weapon of reprisal instead of waving green branches to exorcise the Evil Spirit from the departed master, as with the Tully River tribe.

Assimilation of Foreigners in France

THE *Mercure de France* for August contains an article by Ambroise Got, largely based on official statistics of naturalization, etc., published in June last.

The problem is made a doubly vital one by the alarming decline of the French birth-rate. Excluding Alsace-Lorraine altogether, the total French population fell off 2,200,000 between 1911 and 1921. The number of foreign residents meantime increased about 300,000; but this, added to the re-annexation of the Rhine provinces with over a million and a half inhabitants, has actually left 200,000 souls less within the French borders than ten years ago. The real impoverishment of France is made far greater than the mere figures reveal, by the terrible loss in the World War of a million and a half vigorous youths—just about the total number of the present alien sojourners in France.

The writer recalls, interestingly, that the original Latinized Celtic stock in Gaul has completely absorbed three large Teutonic infiltrations—Franks, Burgundians, and Normans. Again, in more recent times, from German-speaking Lorraine and Alsace, or Savoy and Nice, to the Basques and Bretons, Flemings and Corsicans, France has won citizens who surely are to-day as patriotic, and as valuable, as any of the oldest Celto-Latin central stock. At this point there is mentioned a grimmer illustration of full success in kindly assimilation: many of the ablest leaders and generals of Germany in the World War bore names revealing their direct descent from that host of Huguenot exiles, heroic and loyal Frenchmen as well, whom France so unwisely cast out from her bosom.

There are three chief and well-defined incoming tides. In the southeast are found almost half a million Italians, in the southwest 300,000 Spaniards, and in the north over 400,000 Belgians. The great majority of them all are laborers, drawn to the French factories and farms by economic laws, and, especially, by the waning of the French population. As the writer wisely remarks, the Southrons are also Latins, close akin to their hosts by traditions, language, and creed; the Belgians are Celto-Germanic, but Latinized quite like the French themselves.

The chief purpose of the essayist is to

urge that these three migrations be heartily welcomed, increased as much as possible, and used as hopeful material for future citizens, by naturalization, to offset the alarming drop in the native French birth-rate. Among minor new sources, Poland and Czechoslovakia are especially mentioned as "least dangerous": a phrase curiously illuminative on present-day French psychology. There is an absolute lack of illusion to any emigration at all, except indeed the desirable colonization of "New France," that is, the old Barbary States of North Africa. There, is at least, some loss of French brides to the United States.

Though the rigid war-time system of passports, scrutiny at the frontier, and inquisition as to length and purpose of stay, is of course abolished, and recent legislation has made permanent settlement in France, and even naturalization, somewhat easier, yet the results thus far will certainly seem, particularly to Americans, most meagre. The majority of vintners and harvesters from the South do not even stay in France over the winter. The gain of permanent residents is possibly 30,000 yearly. There were actually naturalized 2000 in 1919, 5000 in 1920, and 10,000 last year. This rapid gain shows the success of the new legislation (though easier conditions are still earnestly called for), but these numbers appear to include not only men and women, but all the children whose nationality is fixed by their parents' decision.

The largest hope expressed is for an eventual yearly immigration of 100,000, from which it is believed 50,000 Frenchmen by adoption might be won. A curious digression discusses the possible phonetic modification, translation into French, or complete change, of the family names of the newcomers, so that their posterity shall have to bear no stigma of foreign origin.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of this suggestive paper is concerned with two outlying portions of France. The writer, like his countrymen generally, betrays no antipathy whatever to men of other colors, and considers Algeria the ideal example of success in dealing with "the lesser breeds":

We are engaged in the task of creating, in three great provinces of New France, a type of Frenchmen quite diverse from that of the metropolis, properly Algerian, Moroccan, or Tunisian Frenchmen, a

resultant from the mingling of several races, apparently hybrids, but swiftly welded together in a lasting cement: French cement.

The French citizens in Algeria, native and naturalized, have increased 70 per cent. in twenty years, and number 830,000—four times the alien white residents. But this is credited "to the strict application of the naturalization law of 1889, by the terms of which whoever is born on French soil, with a father or mother also born there, is legally French." In fact, the residents of Spanish and Italian descent largely outnumber the French.

In Tunisia, the writer speaks of the "obstinate furious effort of the Italian colony, which has special legal privileges and is able, thanks to its numerous schools, associations, etc., to defend itself effectively against absorption." He is, however, frankly in favor of abolishing all such privileges, and evidently proposes to force French speech and education upon the 85,000 Italian as well as the other foreigners. There are but 55,000 Frenchmen in the colony.

As to the still more delicate and perilous situation in Morocco, with its 45,000 French colonists, "it would be premature to express any judgment." As is well known, the relations of France with both her Latin neigh-

bors are far from cordial, and not least on account of her policy of "absorption" in Africa.

The Germans in Alsace-Lorraine at the close of the war, including the retiring troops, are estimated at 310,000, of whom 30,000 "voluntarily repatriated themselves," and 80,000 have been expelled. Of the remainder, 96,000 are said to have claimed the right of naturalization, as having French husbands or wives, and 30,000 on other legal grounds, in the last two years alone. Evidently the methods are as efficacious, if not quite so drastic, as those in force for stamping out the German language. The very recent return to compulsory "repatriation" is not touched upon.

The general impression from this very readable article is that European France has very little prospect of finding an adequate offset for her dwindling native population. The low social or economic average of the new citizens is indicated in the statement, that for 46 per cent. the regular court expenses of naturalization were wholly remitted, and for 46 per cent. were materially reduced, less than one in fourteen paying his bill.

No suggestion is made of any effort to improve the low native birth-rate, either by changing the law of inheritance, so often offered as its chief explanation, or otherwise.

Italy Misunderstood by the French

THE frank, fearless, conciliatory spirit of Jean Finot still pervades the review which he created and thrice christened. The leading article in the *Revue Mondiale* for August 15, by M. Edouard Keyser, is a most happy example.

He protests against the current French misunderstanding of the Italian people, their aims and policies. He is brief, wise and cosmopolitan. He should speak as far as possible for himself:

Oh, what a fine falsehood they invented who wrote: "The Italian is lazy. The South is lacking in martial spirit!" They showed themselves as good psychologists as those who, remembering a journey made wearisome by the constant loquacity of traveling salesmen, declared: "The Italian is a boaster, a braggart, a blusterer, a bore!"

Braggadocio on the surface, which cannot deceive observant folk. When one penetrates a little deeper into the soul of the people—yes, of the common people, without having recourse to business men or scholars—how many times one must conclude:

These men of Turin, of Bologna, yes, of Cosenza, are northmen indeed by comparison with the folk of our own south.

They were no empty-brained, long-tongued idlers who built over the whole peninsula a temple of art whose beauty will never be surpassed. It is not a forceless people who, after centuries of division and subdivision, of struggles and of foreign tyrannies, have succeeded in giving to its renaissance a progress without break, and who every year have in all the fields of effort uplifted that Fatherland which could not even be reunited without inflicting upon it grievous wounds.

... It has been said: "The Italian expatriates himself because he doesn't find work at home." But is it forgotten that the birthrate is higher in Italy than in Germany? And does not the very fact of his emigration prove on the contrary his energy and zeal?

Let us not deceive ourselves. We must recognize in each country its full worth, because in it always, it must be confessed, there lies a certain menace. To declare of this or that neighboring people: "They are incapable of effort, of progress, of industry," is equivalent to denying the possibility of rivalry from that side, and usually, also, prepares for oneself a disagreeable awakening.

In order to speak of the real Italy one must have seen the working people, the environs of Genoa, the factories of Turin, of Milan, of Bologna, of Terni, of Naples, which has become a great industrial city; one must have studied the magnificent electrical equipment of the north, and must realize that the crossing of the frontier does not always give us a sense of our own superiority. Can one judge of the Peninsula when one has visited Amalfi lying asleep, Capri still steeped in the memories of Tiberius—or of Krupp!—Santa Lucia alive with songs and mandolins? That would be showing ourselves as superficial as the foreigner who judges France from an indecent book and a night at Montmartre.

For my own part, when I am enervated and beaten down by the sun of Campania or Calabria, I cannot but admire these hardy peasants as they scale the crags to cultivate a few square yards of earth or descend at break of day from the hill-crests where they live to escape malaria, and plod up again at nightfall, jaded, but with a song on their lips.

"The south is unwarlike!" Another ready-made formula, a catch-word, which we have heard applied in France also. But is it known that, of those picked troops who came to fight at our side in Champagne, the greater part were from Calabria and Sicily? In the villages amid the forests of Sila, in little towns on the brink of the Adriatic, shy

peasants, rude, fierce in their jealousy or in the vendetta, but kindly and hospitable—came to show me with pride their French military medal or war cross. These men were serious, reserved, almost taciturn, quite the opposite of the popular conception of the Italian character. They had preserved roseate memories of France, they only wished to love us; but little by little the propaganda of a hostile press filtered in, first into the cities, and spread even to the poorest and most isolated hamlets. . . .

The value of Franco-Italian good-will is not a merely sentimental one. It is industrial and commercial, as well as political. Let us realize at the outset that our trans-Alpine neighbor is an industrious, apt, and progressive people. Let us make our own propaganda there, but not at ineffective and costly one by sending our jaded statesmen about the world to utter their orations. Our propaganda must be through the press, our literary men, our professors—and also the students, who travel and exchange universities.

If we only knew each other better, how many barriers would fall. . . . This essay has no purpose save to show our Latin allies that their friends in France include all who reason and are not fed on mere words. Great men in both lands have devoted themselves to Latin friendship. Let us urge them on to complete the task.

French Railroads and the Eight-Hour Law

IN the *Économiste Français* for July 29th and August 5th M. André Liesse renews his discussion on this subject. Very respectful reference is made to Ernest Greenleaf's report to the New York Bureau of Labor, on the general effect of the eight-hour day in Europe and elsewhere.

In France, as in other countries, one large and general result has been the necessary introduction of three "shifts," instead of two, in metallurgy especially, and indeed wherever the work is carried on continuously night and day. The prophecy of the labor agitators that the average man would accomplish as much in eight hours as in ten or twelve does not appear to have been to any extent whatever realized. The counter-claim that the laborer has not even used his added leisure for self-improvement, socially, culturally or professionally, is of course impossible to prove. The statistics seem to indicate that his actual efficiency is deteriorating; or, as the pessimist would put it, that zeal for enthusiastic, intelligent, and intensive work is passing out of fashion.

Naturally, especial efforts have been made to offset this loss of labor by economies in production, especially by the use of up-to-date devices for higher efficiency;

and in some cases with moderate success. A part of the falling-off may be fairly attributed to the scant and poor supply of raw materials now available. The wastage, breakage, and loss of time in changing shifts is naturally greater under the present system. Altogether, the cost of production has been much increased, thus adding to the high cost of living, and the total output is materially less, just in the years when there should be the most strenuous effort to offset the destruction of nearly half the accumulated wealth of mankind in the course of the World War.

Various efforts are being made to abrogate the law altogether, or to enable each organized industry, or individual executive, to secure exemption from it, by showing it to be injurious.

M. Liesse's especial interest is still centered on the great railway lines, where he considers the law to be especially impracticable and disastrous. The statistics which he quotes concern the five or six great trunk lines of France, which were put to a more severe strain in the World War than any others in the world. Indeed most of the Northern and Eastern Systems were subjected to invasion and capture. At the close of the war all the lines were

severely crippled, were engaged in the process of necessary reconstruction, and running on heavy deficits, when this law was suddenly passed, and put into immediate operation, on April 13, 1919.

The pooling of the finances of the great lines, with the enforced and unnatural uniformity of rates since June, 1921, has increased their difficulties. They were not permitted, for many months, to make any increase of rates, corresponding to the rise in price of all materials and of all service elsewhere. The inevitable result has been an enormous deficit, carrying the whole combined system to the verge of bankruptcy.

The best comparison is between the record of 1920 and that of 1913. The total number of employees on the six chief lines rose from 350,000 to nearly half a million. The diminution in units of traffic is stated at 28 per cent. and the falling off of kilometer-train units is recorded as 112 per cent. (?). The following year, 1921, shows a moderate reduction in personnel (about 17,000), while the loss in traffic units is reduced to 19 per cent., and that in train-kilometer units dropped to 84 per cent. (The base on which this percentage is reckoned for both years is nowhere stated, but must, of course, be some other and smaller norm than the actual figures of 1913, which certainly could not have suffered a loss of over 100 per cent.)

The plain conclusion is that at least 30 per cent. more workers were handling a materially smaller amount of traffic than eight years before. The percentage of receipts absorbed by wages alone has risen,

also, from 40 to 60, on a much larger total of gross income, and has actually been increased more than fourfold.

The net deficit of the six roads combined was three billion francs in 1920, and certainly two billion in 1921. With lower prices for coal, and extreme economy, the loss in 1922 may be reduced to 1,200,000,000 francs, or thirteen times the total normal dividends to shareholders! The retrenchments admissible under the present law can hardly be carried much farther. The freight and passenger rates are already as high as they can be set, and any attempt to increase them would in all probability cause a falling off in travel and transportation so great as actually to lessen the gross receipts.

The conclusion is frankly drawn, that the sole available means of relief—which is also an imperatively necessary measure—is to repeal the eight-hour law, which has compelled the great addition to the working force: or, at least, to relieve the railroad from its application to all classes of employees, however occasional or light their duty may be. The government has finally realized the desperate financial condition, and in fact the present data are mainly drawn from a remarkable report, made by M. Mussat in connection with an exemption proposal, already drafted by the administration of public traffic. Even so, the prospective saving, under the most favorable conditions, appears to be only about 400 million francs annually.

Such recent factors as the alarming condition of the coal market do not enter into these calculations.

An Extreme German View

IN the *Deutsche Rundschau* for July, Werner Genzmer reviews Mr. Keynes' book, approving cordially the argument which would reduce the just indemnity from 138 billions to 36, the estimate of present German taxation at 43 per cent. of the total income, and the rejection of all schemes for foreign control as impracticable.

On Mr. Keynes' conclusion that Germany can and doubtless would cheerfully pay 1260 million gold marks annually for thirty years, he remarks that the English writer goes only half way—that any such payments are impossible. Before the war, the necessary importation of raw materials

made an annual balance of trade against Germany of one and one-fourth billions. The loss of Lorraine, upper Silesia, etc., has made this condition much worse. The foreign colonies, foreign securities, and even German private property in other lands, which enabled her to cover that deficit, are all gone, and she is robbed even of her merchant fleet. Still another half-billion goes annually to support the armies of occupation and the "espionage-commissions." Altogether two billions per year is a conservative estimate for the present outgo. Against the proposed total of three and one-fourth billions, Germany has nothing

to offer but the ever-growing flood of paper money, practically worthless outside her borders.

The reviewer concludes:

Keynes, also, calls imperiously for the restoration of a normal equilibrium in international trade. To this end it is not enough that the United States cancel the debt of the Allies. The requisite next step is, that the German indemnity be completely stricken out, before it is too late. Even that will not clear the way.

Lloyd George has pointed out at Geneva that from the Adriatic to the Black Sea there is not one undisputed boundary. In truth, those lines, drawn by the bloody dilettantism of the European allies after the war's end, not merely for national, but perhaps even more for economic reasons, are absolutely indefensible.

If European industry, of which, before the war, Germany was the strongest support, is to regain its steadfast structure, Germany must first of all be given back its agricultural and industrial sources of supply, which are indispensable to her. The like is true of Austria, Hungary and Russia. Keynes does not touch on economico-geographical questions at all. Neither does he remark that Germany, having been deprived by the Allies of her foreign territory, her merchant fleet, and the property of her citizens in other lands, has already paid a war indemnity to be valued at 80 to 100 billions. This looting policy has already shown itself to be harmful from the cosmopolitan point of view. Everything beyond that squeezed out of Germany as financial indemnity—even though it be by the circuitous method of a gigantic American loan—only helps on the further destruction of the economic foundations of the prosperity of the world's commercial nations.

Pan-Germanist Propaganda

THE most difficult problem of the moment, for European statesmen, is, apparently, to determine the actual present condition, attitude, and intentions of the German people. The Russian situation is disconsolate indeed: but the essential facts—including the unwise of intervention by force from without—appear all too plainly. As to Germany, diametrically opposite views have repeatedly—indeed constantly—threatened the harmony in action of England and France, on which the upbuilding of Europe is so dependent. It has been increasingly difficult to get any convincing evidence from the Germans themselves as to their real state of mind.

A remarkably clear light is thrown on one phase of this subject, however, by the proceedings at the third Whitsuntide session of the Deutscher Schutzbund (German Protective Union) held at Marienburg and Allenstein in early June, and reported, as it would seem, officially, for the *Deutsche Rundschau* of July, over the signature of Rudolf Pechel. The Bund proper is necessarily composed of German nationals only, but it invites to these yearly gatherings representatives, both men and women, from all the communities in other (middle European) lands. The session of 1921, at Klagenfurt, the capital of Austrian Carinthia, appears to have been very largely a protest against the forcible exclusion of Austria from the German Republic. The choice of the place of meeting for this summer is most frankly explained in the opening paragraphs:

Toward East Prussia the land-route from inner Germany runs across the "Corridor," a German district from of old, the assignment of which was forcibly made by alien states, in caprice and hatred, despite justice divine and human, contrary to all economic good sense. Whoso would go from Germany to Germany must submit himself to Polish surveillance. In the German character of the land, no change can be worked by the color which the Pole has applied so freely, painting over the railway fences, names of stations, and business signs. And the pitiful figures of the Polish soldiery, with their patched-up equipment, only testify to the fact that this army is supported by France: on the fair face of the German landscape they are but "beauty spots." Every German should make this journey, and gnashing his teeth learn the unbearable truth for himself. For the delegates to the session of the Schutzbund it provided the fitting mental detachment. Allenstein and Marienburg were selected for the sessions expressly to show our brothers in East and West Prussia, who in the portentous electoral struggle had given to Polish greed the plainest possible response, that for us the "Corridor" does not exist, and that no force on earth can compel us to regard their doom and need as other than our own.

German folk in need! That led, three years ago, to the founding of the Schutzbund. "German folk in need": this phrase stood as a watchword over the third session also; for whencesoever the invited delegates came, from German borderlands or German abodes in alien states, the sense of nationality was oppressed by bitterest need. The Germans in East and West Prussia, in the North March, in Rhineland, in Upper Silesia, in German Austria, those on the Saar and in the Palatinate, as well as the Germans in foreign lands: in Poland, in Russia and her border states, in Hungary, Rumania, in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, in Southern Tyrol, Alsace, Belgium, and Denmark, all are engaged in the most intense strife. The blows which are aimed at them go straight to the heart of the whole German people.

The full significance of the last sentences here quoted must be duly emphasized. It

is easy to sympathize with the plea of helpless Little Austria to be reunited with the other Teutonic peoples, as her natural right, and also as quite within any rational definition of that much-abused word, "self-determination." The actual disposal of Danzig and the Corridor, also, however vital to the existence of a strong Poland, is undoubtedly a hardship and a humiliation for Prussia, cloven in twain. The occupied territories, too, cannot but chafe under their present alien and potentially hostile control. But quite beyond all that, later in the catalogue, *fourteen* independent nations, including France, Italy, Finland and the three little Baltic states, indeed all Germany's neighbors save Holland, are listed as deadly enemies, who—individually, not merely as components of the League—are charged with insufferable atrocities toward the German minorities within their borders! This, surely, is the song of indiscriminate, unreasoning, and suicidal hatred, even more bitter than in the last decade.

Yet the actual demands on these neighbor-states, so far as they are openly framed, embrace little more than a claim for fair property rights and fuller political security: including, indeed, exclusive use of the German speech, even in the public education of their children—a right surely never granted to any body of Poles or other aliens by any German ruler.

It can only be supposed that much of this is mere extravagant rhetoric and propaganda, uttered in forgetfulness of all save Teutonic readers. Now, many voices have been raised, not merely in *Mittel Europa*, declaring that a radical revision of boundary lines generally, and even of the Versailles treaty as a whole, is near at hand—is indeed immediately necessary to prevent the collapse of Europe. To such a future "Second Council of Vienna, as in 1815," doubtless, it is intended to make this unanimous demand for the restoration of political unity for all Germans. But surely the true Germanic interests would be infinitely better served by a calmer appeal, in the name of Teutonic traditional culture, of the older German ideals, an appeal fit to be made, also, to German-born colonists in Barcelona, Buenos Aires, or Chicago, as well as to those in Alsace, the Corridor and the Trentino, where the fires of the World War still smolder. Furthermore, Germany must repudiate, most explicitly and finally, the doctrine that even a naturalized citizen of

another state, born on German soil, remains always German, by prior and holier tie.

The present appeal will be resented as a thinly veiled political battle-cry: "It is our faith that all who feel themselves German, without distinction of religion, party, or social class, of race or nationality, of dwelling-place or speech, have by an inner law an indestructible unity. We hold absolutely to the inviolable nature-given right of self-determination for all this our folk." It is useless to follow such a sentence with the words: "We do not wish to meddle in the internal or foreign policy of any states, whether our own or others." Appeal to "inalienable rights" is a Declaration of Independence, the very extreme of "meddling in state affairs"! Indeed, to such frank avowal the very same paragraph instantly returns: "Whether they live dispersed, or in compact masses attached or subjected to an alien state and people, or whether they against their will lead a separate life before the gates of the Fatherland" (i.e., Austria, and no doubt also Danzig), "their faith in the racial unity is their spiritual, their true Home. *In this faith lies the future of the German nation.*"

Those loyal citizens of other lands who have the strongest affection for the elder Germany, who, like Theodore Roosevelt, saw much to admire in the internal organization of the Hohenzollern empire, who believe that German thoroughness, thrift, and capacity for united action must yet give this people a great rôle in the upbuilding of a peaceful and prosperous industrial world on the wreckage of the old order, will most deeply deplore the untimely utterance of such inflammable and exasperating words.

To take other examples almost at random, "The Berlin Government is praised for prohibiting the use of any text-book, atlas, or wall-map that does not give the former extent and boundaries of the Empire: and the Austrian authorities are strenuously urged to adopt the same policy." How must all the new Slavic nations, together with the new rulers of Alsace, Tyrol, Schleswig, etc., interpret this? "Eternal dishonor befalls those nations who by violence have shaped new states, wherein races hold the control who are altogether unconscious of the sacredness of justice." Is that not a demand that all the emancipated Slavic peoples be put back under the Hapsburg yoke, to enjoy its high reverence for "the sacredness of

justice"? Again, of the Bund's zeal for Germanic unity it is remarked: "If this thought becomes reality we shall no longer lament the loss of the war!"

It seems almost like a martial requirement, when "the Schutzbund is urged to carry out an effective previous censorship of all speeches to be uttered either at its own sessions or on festal occasions." That policy, by the way, is to a very large degree, one must judge, already in operation. The reso-

lutions voted at the various sessions are as a rule cautiously worded, and notably uniform in general tone. The quotations which have here been made are nearly all from Herr Pechel's own words; but there is no apparent occasion to question their accuracy, at least as to their spirit. They give the impression of an authorized report, admitted to the sanest and most conservative of German publications. They, also, have doubtless been properly censored.

King Constantine's Return to Greece

RECENT news of the Greek reverses makes it clear that the throne of Greece itself is in peril. All accounts agree that since his return to Greece King Constantine has been a popular monarch. Interesting details regarding his homecoming are given in *Rassegna Nazionale* (Rome) by the Italian reporter, Angelo Raggianni. After traveling by rail from Lucerne to Venice, Constantine and the royal party embarked for Greece on the *Areroff*, a ship of the Greek navy. The voyagers had very bad weather on the trip and were forced to put in at Posidonia and proceed to Athens by rail. Here the King was received with great enthusiasm. The writer describes the scene as follows:

Athens was all in festival array on the night of the King's arrival. The Parthenon was brilliantly illuminated, and the streets of the city were thronged with people who had flocked thither from the most distant towns and hamlets and from hillside and valley, to welcome the return of their cherished King and the restoration of their liberty. The hotels and lodging-houses of the city were quite inadequate to give shelter to so many pilgrims, and a number of them passed the night in the streets, forgetting their weariness in the intensity of their enthusiasm.

In the morning the King made his triumphal entry. All along the route of the procession little altars had been set up in front of the houses, on which were placed such beautiful objects as the owners could gather together; these were adorned with festoons of colored paper, if no more elegant drapery could be afforded. With pious care the poorest displayed their simple little heirlooms cleverly disposed so as to hide their blemishes or defects. On the humblest huts, as on the finest palaces, were

hung pictures of the King. These were of all possible types, from the cheapest postcard up to veritable portraits. He was depicted in admiral's or general's uniform, or in court dress; and either alone, or with the Queen and royal family. And on all sides arose the rapturous shout, "Ton éféra mè!" ("we have brought him back.")

There can be no doubt that this great popular welcome of Constantine was due to the conviction, "he kept us out of war." Indeed, it is not easy to blame the Greeks for their thankfulness at not having shared the fate of Rumania and Serbia.

The next day the correspondent visited the Castle of Tatoi, built by the present King's father, George I, and which has been made a kind of mausoleum for this sovereign. The rooms are reverently preserved as they were in his lifetime. Over his writing-table are spread the last letters he received, and there even rests on it a crystal cup containing the cigar-tips he was wont to deposit there-

in. From King George's room one passes into that occupied by the late Prince Alexander, Constantine's son, the room in which he went through his last illness and in which he closed his bright young eyes forever. Here one can see the fateful broken mirror which developed a mysterious fracture on the very day of his untimely death, this happening being regarded by the superstitious as an omen of the event. His body rests alongside that of his grandfather, King George, on the crest of a green hillside nearby.



KING CONSTANTINE
OF GREECE

Narcotic Dreams and Their Aftermath

WE seldom pause to reflect on the resemblance between our dreams and the high delirium of fever or alcoholism or, indeed, of the permanent hallucinations of the insane. M. Louis Livet in the *Journal de Psychologie* traces the connecting links between the dreams evoked wilfully by the use of narcotics and their aftermath—so frequently stable enough to simulate a mild form of insanity.

As Thomas De Quincey said in the "Confessions of an Opium Eater," "the narcotic can only develop the natural predispositions of the addict; to judge of the wonders of opium it would be absurd to listen to a cattle-dealer, since he would dream only of herds and pastures."

An identical mental mechanism causes the normal dream and the morbid raving, and Livet's experience has shown him the remarkable constancy with which the narcotic dream has left more or less tenacious traces in the mind of the patient, whether as a fixed idea or false conviction, a hallucination of the senses or disorders of the sensibility. With hemp the illusion of a satisfied desire or forgotten sorrow is prolonged for several days after the smoker's visit to the den. Cocaine and alcohol produce illusions of loathsome insects and animals, and depressing or terrifying ideas persist. Opium acts more especially on the domain of ideas and of the imagination, as alcohol does in rare cases. The most celebrated instance of the fevered imagination due to alcohol and drugs is the feast of Belshazzar so familiar in the paintings of the Primitives and of the Renaissance:

They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood and of stone. In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlesticks upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace, and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.—DANIEL.

Another confirmation of M. Livet's clinical observations is found in the literature of Black Magic, dear to the French Symbolists and to the "Yellow-Book" school of the English nineties. The jusquiaime or henbane was the principal ingredient of the magic ointment of the sorcerers of the Middle Ages. The first time the wizards anointed themselves with this salve they had marvelous visions; the second time they rode astride a broomstick to the Witches' Sabbath, and the third time

the Devil persuaded them that after the anointing they would be changed into the beasts of the fields. Livet quotes some extracts from the old lawsuit against sorcery, collected by Eusebe Salverte:

Two of the accused witches, put to sleep by the magic ointment, had announced that they would go to the Sabbath and that they would come back with wings. Both believed that this statement was true and were amazed when they were contradicted.

In 1750 at Wurzburg a nun accused of sorcery was dragged to a law court where she obstinately insisted that she was a witch and named the persons she had killed by enchantment. These persons were still living, but the nun was burned alive.

With the jusquiaime or henbane, hemp and belladonna the dreamers believe long after that they have in reality been wedded to the person chosen in imagination. Auditory hallucinations are rarer, though the dreams induced by chloroform or ether begin with a characteristic sound of bells ringing. A woman who had been brought up in a French convent, where the bells for study and chapel were silenced during Holy Week and rang out at High Mass on Easter morning, dreamed in the ether narcosis that the nuns were sending her to the chapel with flowers for the altar as the bells were pealing for the Offertory. The perfume of the flowers and the chimes persisted in this patient's nostrils and ears for hours after the operation. Smokers of marihuana composed ritual songs in which onomatopæia translated their auditory hallucinations.

Persons especially predestined to the aftermath phenomena of narcotics are those of a mental plasticity with a natural tendency to disregard and dislike positive and material facts. Children and women are thus more susceptible.

Perhaps for this reason [Mr. Livet concludes] we find that it was the priestess who was the mouth-piece of the Oracle in the temple of Apollo, the Druidess with the Celts and the prophetess with the Arabs. The Greeks and the Romans made girls drunk and then caused them to tell the future from magic mirrors or crystal spheres, while Cagliostro followed the method later on, and the American Indians gave their priestesses narcotics that they might dream and interpret the future from their hallucinations. Desire and the narcotic aid in imprinting on the mind a fixed idea and as the witch before her narcosis desired to go to the Sabbath, the opium or haschisch addict goes to the den to satisfy some special wish, remembrance or hope, returning with the illusion of satisfied desire.

Forest Fire Losses of 1922

THOSE who have lived at the edge of the forest, or who, perhaps, have dwelt within the very shadow of its mysterious enchantment, will experience real sorrow to learn that the destruction, wrought by forest fires, has been far greater in the northern rocky mountains and along the northern Pacific coast during this season, than for the past six years, according to a special article in the September issue of *American Forestry*.

The economic aspects of this important matter were discussed in a special article, "Tackling the Forestry Problem in Time," by Philip W. Ayres, published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, for last July, and the present discussion comes almost as a somewhat melancholy aftermath of Mr. Ayres' warning. The summary of *American Forestry* seems to be a digest of reports to the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, and proceeds, in part, as follows:

So many hundreds of fires have there been and so many reports of them that they have come to be accepted as parts of the routine of daily life, just as bloody battles were during

the World War. It requires a survey of the voluminous reports collected by the Association at its offices in Washington to get an adequate impression of the damage that has been done and the extent of the menace that existed, and to some degree, still exists. It is calculated that the losses aggregated about \$5,000,000.

Possibly the greatest actual damage to virgin standing timber has been outside the United States, and on the Canadian side, in the Pacific coast region.



SURFACE FIRE STARTED BY SPARKS FROM CROWN FIRE
A MILE AWAY

(Kept from spreading by scraping away a line of humus, as seen on right. Big Horn Forest Reserve, Wyoming)

One fire in British Columbia destroyed sixty million feet of the finest timber. So numerous have been the fires in that province that the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia ordered the cessation of logging operations on Vancouver Island in order to release the employees for fire-fighting.

While there has been no such single case of damage on the American side, the fires have been even more numerous and have covered a larger area, including much of the timber region of western and eastern Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. One hundred and fifty thousand acres have been burned over in Washington, and the property loss in Idaho is placed at \$1,500,000. Some virgin forests and tens of thousands of cut-over lands have been burned and large quantities of second growth timber have been destroyed, as well as large quantities of logs, many camps and much equipment. . . . One calculation has it



FOREST ON MOUNTAINSIDE RUINED BY REPEATED BURNING
(Nesqually Valley, Washington)

that actual or potential timber sufficient for 300,000 homes has been burned in the last ninety days.

The season has been exceptionally dry throughout the Pacific Northwest, with the result that fires are easily started. In one instance a spark from a donkey engine used in logging operations started a fire which covered 20,000 acres of land, destroyed 15,000,000 feet of saw timber, four logging camps, fifteen donkey engines, one locomotive, 35 flat-cars, 20 houses, and three automobiles. From almost every section of the Northwestern timber belt come tales of fire after fire and endless accounts of the struggles of forest rangers and patrols, loggers, sawmill employees and citizens in general, exerting themselves to exhaustion to check the flames.

It is hoped by United States foresters, lumbermen and timber owners, continues this account, that the disasters of this season "will lead to early action by Congress and State legislatures, looking to vastly improved provisions and arrangements for preventing and suppressing forest fires." It is pointed out that "there is small chance for reforesting to succeed and no chance for aforestation when the probabilities are that fires will undo the work of both Nature and man."

A New Light on the Instinctive Habits of Spiders

THE layman's mind is always lulled to slumber by the charm of the scientist's style if that scientist be also a literary artist, so that the world at large has perhaps accepted Fabre's observations on the spider and Maeterlinck's rhapsodies on the bee without the needful grain of salt.

M. Rabaud in the *Journal de Psychologie* tells us some instances in which the great gods nod. Fabre, for instance, states that some species of spider prey only on bees, which they always bite on the neck in order to reach the nerve ganglion. Other species of spider which prey on a very different sort of insects bite their victims anywhere since, Fabre says, they cannot know the exact spot in which the nerve ganglion is situated in every victim. As a matter of fact, Rabaud comments, wherever the spider bites the poison rapidly spreads and paralysis ensues almost immediately. The spider turns over the prey that has fallen into his web and wraps him in a silk tissue. When the prey is thus bound and delivered, the spider bites on any part of the victim's body that happens to be under its chelicerae. If the region is tough, the spider withdraws and bites along the victim's body until it finds a soft spot. This is often the cephalo-thoracic articulation which Fabre calls the "neck." The spider's bite is therefore wholly unconscious; it does not know where it must bite.

Rabaud has also noted interesting variations of instinctive habits of the larger species of spider, such as *Argiope brunneichi* and *Araneus diadematus*. Whenever a bee or a fly is caught in their web, these spiders fall upon them, twine them around

and bite wherever their fangs happen to strike. But this habitual conduct may be modified in great measure. The vibrations of the insect caught in the web ordinarily attract the spider, but if the vibrations are not strong enough the spider is repelled, and may even be stunned and fall from its web. In other cases, the odor of the victim causes the spider to fall from the web.

External conditions also cause variations in the process of enveloping the victim in the silken web. Fabre says that the spider sometimes turns over the victim and sometimes spins the silk over its back or feet, according to whether the victim is provided with a means of defence. Rabaud has found that the victim's resistance is the determining factor in the spider's conduct. The movements of the victim exert a certain traction on the spider's feet which bend inward. If the prey vibrates very violently, this drawing power is strong enough to bring the prey in contact with the chelicerae of the spider, and the reflex of the bite follows automatically. When butterflies are caught the drawing in of the spider's feet is caused by the slight purchase afforded by the wings of the victim.

Rabaud insists, therefore, that the spiders' conduct is purely mechanical. They are not free to act or to refrain from action. The spider's every movement is caused by the attraction or stimulus received. Every movement is therefore a reflex. But the order in which these reflexes occur is not always the same. Instinct is only immutable when the same animals are observed under always identical conditions. But the animal's conduct varies and be-

comes exceptional when conditions change and are exceptional. This conduct then appears unusual and we imagine that it must have some higher significance and, as Rabaud concludes, we no longer see instinct but intelligence as the motive power. Rabaud adds:

This is not instinct, perhaps, as it is modified by circumstance, but it cannot be called intelligence, since its mechanism is identical with that of instinctive conduct.

Does it not prove, at any rate, that our conceptions both of instinct and intelligence in lower animal life must be modified and our erroneous notions discarded, together with a little of our faith in so much of the popular science that is addressed, like so much of our political oratory, to the ear rather than to the mind?



Photograph by William M. Savin

SPIDERS CAPTURED BY MUD DAUBER WASPS

The British Farmer

BRITAIN'S "greatest national industry" is the subject of a well-reasoned essay entitled "Education and Research in Agriculture" in the new number of the *Quarterly*, by S. L. Bensusan. The methods of the typical farmer are criticized, and the prevalence of unintelligent routine is the theme of several pertinent paragraphs:

The farmer probably has the orchard his grandfather or the grandfather of a contemporary planted, and was the first and last to care for. Lichen and fungus have invaded the trunks; woolly aphis and a score of other pests have found safe harborage on the apple-tree branches; the plums have silver-leaf; when pears grow, they crack and shrivel. Fortunately, there is a tradition in the family that the orchard never did do much good and that there is no market for fruit; so nobody prunes the trees, or sprays them in the spring, or washes them in the autumn, or sets grease-bands to catch the winter-moths, or cuts out the plum branches that the silver-leaf disease has destroyed. A report issued in 1920 stated that upwards of fifty thousand acres of cultivable land in the West of England were under worthless orchards.

The farmer's wife, who "looks after" the fowls—too often with an equally easy-going routine, and with no knowledge of selection or careful breeding for good egg-laying strains, is criticized, and the author proceeds:

So year succeeds year and son to father, and the machinery of production runs at half-speed, and the good year must pay for the bad one and the work run on through a seven-day week, year in and year

out, until, at last, the feeble hands can carry the burden no longer and Mother Earth welcomes her helper to his rest. He may have driven the hardest bargains; he may have been the sternest taskmaster, but, by reason of his natural ignorance of soil-chemistry, food-values, and economics, he has, though he knows it not, been beaten all the time, enriching many a merchant and middle-man whom he has never seen. We have in Great Britain a quarter of a million farmers to-day, exclusive of small-holders who are nearly as many; in all probability the number of those to which the foregoing description would apply runs far into six figures.

That there is some excuse for these unproductive methods with the small and backward farmer is admitted; "it is well to remember his secluded life and the hard work that fills his days. He sees his friends or acquaintances when he goes to market; at other times his family and workers must suffice him. . . . He is losing, or has lost, the stimulus derived from a landlord who is a keen agriculturist. . . . Yet, with all his faults and merits, he is the staple material of the agricultural community."

The policy of the Ministry of Agriculture is the subject of some severe criticism, and there are other interesting points. Thus:

Even the rat, which penalizes every man, woman, and child in these islands by wasting tens of millions of pounds worth of food and spreading disease among mankind and animals, is nominally under surveillance. Unfortunately, although we have on the Statute Book a Rat and Mice (Destruction) Act, its administration has been neglected.

News of Nature's World

The Departure of the Birds

THE month of September probably saw the departure, from their northern breeding grounds, of about twenty species of birds, which have been spending the spring and summer months east of the Mississippi. These birds went to their southern wintering places, in our southern States, or as far south as the West Indies, or Central or even South America. Unless the weather was such as to delay their natural movements, these species are likely to have included the following well-known ones:

Acadian flycatcher	Yellow-breasted chat
Orchard oriole	Hummingbird
Rough-winged swallow	Kingbird
Worm-eating warbler	Crested flycatcher
Blue-winged warbler	Wood pewee
Baltimore oriole	Rose-breasted grosbeak
Purple martin	Yellow-throated vireo
Yellow warbler	Hooded warbler
Veery	Louisiana water-thrush

During October probably about forty more species will leave their northern breeding grounds for their summer resting places, where they will remain until their spring migration brings them northward again. By the end of the month, the northern woods will be nearly deserted by migrants, but there will be a few winter residents—some stay-overs, some who come down from the Canadian woods, and pause in the latitude of the northern and middle States. The October migrants to the south are likely to include the following species:

Clapper rail	Wood thrush
Yellow-billed cuckoo	Whip-poor-will
Black-billed cuckoo	Nighthawk
Chimney swift	Sharp-tailed sparrow
Least flycatcher	Red-eyed vireo
Bobolink	Black and white warbler
Grasshopper sparrow	Maryland yellow-throat
Indigo bunting	Long-billed marsh wren
Scarlet tanager	Short-billed marsh wren
Barn swallow	House wren
Cliff swallow	Brown thrasher
White-eyed vireo	Cat bird
Chestnut-sided warbler	Phoebe
Redstart	Towhee
Ovenbird	Tree swallow

"Camouflaging" by Wild Animals

The supposed attempts of wild creatures to escape from their pursuers, by *deliberately* relying upon their concealing coloration, form a large series of most remarkable

yarns, which it is well to take with a grain of salt. There is no obvious reason, however, to discredit the following story by Miss Grace A. Hill, in the current (July-August) number of the *Condor*, the magazine of western American ornithology, as to the remarkable concealing of the willow ptarmigan, a bird common in the northern woods and along the tundra:

When we came upon the first brood the mother feigned a broken wing and the young hid in the tundra grass [writes Miss Hill] . . . Shortly afterwards, as we approached a small clump of willows, we saw a female ptarmigan struggling in the grass as though from a mortal wound. I had never seen a bird in more evident distress and could not at first believe that she was feigning. But when I came near, she ran a few feet dragging her right wing. I then turned to look for the young. . . .

Although the day was overcast, there seemed to be sufficient light to enable one to distinguish every detail in the carpet of dry leaves beneath the willows. Yet I had not taken two steps, watching carefully, when a young ptarmigan scurried literally from under my foot-fall. Startled, I watched intently as I took another step; and again one of the birds just escaped being trod upon. My attention was focused upon a spot a few feet away. Gradually the outline of a fluffy, unblinking birdling became pricked upon my vision. His camouflage against the brown and mottled background of the faded leaves and twigs was perfect. I cast my eye about to find the rest of the brood. Having no success I glanced back to the spot of my discovery. The bird was gone. I gave the laurels to Nature, and quietly crept from the field of action.

It is not necessary to jump to the conclusion that "camouflaged" birds or mammals employ their camouflage *deliberately*, and for the *purposes of concealment*. . . . Therefore, it seems far more reasonable to conclude that here we have simply an instance of the *instinct* of the bird to run and hide, without reference to, or consciousness of, the colors of its hiding-place. The writer has seen many species of wild birds and mammals, from "partridges" (ruffed grouse) to white-tailed deer, almost perfectly "camouflaged" in the woods; but he did not conclude that the concealment was the result of deliberate selection because it happened to be concealing.

The Noisiest of Bugs

During August and September, the most characteristic of natural sounds had been the long-drawn buzz of the cicada, or common harvest-fly, often but mistakenly called the locust. As a matter of fact the

insect differs markedly, in appearance and habits, from the locust, which is the short-horned grasshopper, an ancient and destructive pest, of whose devastations we may read much in the Bible. The cicada resembles a big fly, and does not look at all like a grasshopper. Its transparent wings are about twice the length of its body, and are folded parallel therewith over its back, as it attaches itself to the twig of a tree (often in the higher branches), within which the female lays her eggs. Of the processes which follow, much is not definitely known, because much of it is subterranean—some of it as much as twenty feet below the surface of the ground, to which the young fall a few weeks after the eggs are laid. When the pupa emerges from the ground, it attaches itself to a fence rail or tree trunk and splits the skin along the back, through which the winged insect appears, and soon flies away. The pupal skin dries, and may remain attached for several days to its support.

This is the common harvest fly, whose buzz we hear so frequently during late summer and August. Its development requires about two years, though as there are two broods each year, one appears annually.

The *periodical cicada*, or so-called "seventeen-year" locust, develops in from thirteen to seventeen years, according to temperature conditions, heat accelerating development, and producing the thirteen-year form. The buzz of the seventeen-year locust differs in quality from, and is much louder than, that of the common harvest-fly. The sound-making organs are peculiar to the cicadas, and are very complex. They are contained in the thorax, where the buzz is produced by the rapid vibration of a membrane called the timbal. As no auditory apparatus has been discovered, it is believed that cicadas do not hear their own buzz, but feel only its vibrations. Furthermore, as these organs are only perfectly developed in the male, and imperfectly in the female, it is believed that all the noise is made by the males, a circumstance which caused the Greek poet Xenarchus to remark: "Happy the cicadas' lives, for they all have voiceless wives."

The Goldenrod

Nature sends no brighter smile these days, from the roadsides or the meadow to the wayfarer, than that of the goldenrod, where it lingers long after the other flower folk have vanished. No wonder it has been chosen as the state flower of four States—Alabama, Kentucky, Missouri and Nebraska—and many would have it the national flower. About eighty species are named by the botanists, and of these more than half are found in the northern States. With one exception all are classed as "weeds"; but as Emerson, the wise and gentle Concord sage, suggested, a so-called weed may be really a plant whose virtues are not appreciated.

A Food and a Medicine

One of the northern forest folk which often lingers through the autumn months, and well into the winter, is the wintergreen, or checkerberry, with its bright, green leaves and its pretty red berries. Long before the white man came to this country, the Indians knew that from the leaves could be made the wintergreen oil, which lessens the pains of rheumatism. And meanwhile, long before then, the leaves had been eaten by the deer and the squirrels and the bird. If the berries escape being entirely devoured, they dry up and often remain on the vines until spring, when they drop to the ground, where their seeds make new checkerberry plants.

Red-Heads and Beech-Nuts

In the natural world, there is often a curiously close connection between things seemingly quite unlike. Take red-headed woodpeckers, gray squirrels, and beech-nuts, for example. If the beech-nut yield is plentiful this autumn, the gray squirrels will be plentiful; and also the red-heads, who will be feeding on the nuts before they are ripe. Indeed, on their account the birds will be likely to remain in the north throughout the winter. And the nuts are eaten eagerly by the common deer, who seem to know that their oily meat makes good flesh wherewith to keep out the winter's cold.

THE NEW BOOKS

American and European History

The Causes of the War of Independence. By Claude H. Van Tyne. Houghton Mifflin Co. 499 pp.

In this first volume of a history of the founding of the American republic Professor Van Tyne makes a thorough reexamination of the chain of events that led to the severance of the relations between the American colonists and the British homeland, and at the same time reviews the various theories and explanations advanced by historians in the past, to account for our war of independence. His conclusions are creditable alike to Old England as the mother of British freedom and to the colonists in America, who demanded "the full enjoyment of those liberties which England had fostered beyond any other country of the world."

Political Ideas of the American Revolution. By Randolph Greenfield Adams. Durham, N. C.: Trinity College Press. 207 pp.

Dr. Adams has selected that period of American history in which the colonies were struggling for self-government as indicating incipient ideas of a League of Nations. Some of these ideas have become more fully realized in the modern British Empire, or, as it is known to-day, the Britannic Commonwealth of Nations. From abundant documentary materials Dr. Adams shows that among our colonial statesmen of the years 1765-75 were leaders of truly imperial aims and ideals.

The Declaration of Independence. By Carl Becker. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 286 pp.

If any of our readers have the impression that nothing new can be said about the ancient document known in our history as the Declaration of Independence, we advise them to read Professor Becker's book. They are likely to find between its covers more than one statement that may surprise them. To many, for instance, it will be news that this declaration is not itself the official act by which the Continental Congress voted for separation from Great Britain. The resolution declaring that "these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved" was voted by the Congress on July 2, 1776. As Professor Becker points out, this was the official declaration of independence, and the declaration later adopted was intended to proclaim to the world the reasons for declaring independence, rather than the fact itself, although in its final paragraph the resolution of July 2 was incorporated.

Admirals of the Caribbean. By Francis Russell Hart. Houghton Mifflin Company. 203 pp. Ill.

Paraphrasing Tom Reed's famous distinction between the statesman and the politician, one might gather from Mr. Hart's book that a British naval hero is a successful pirate who is dead. This applies

to some, at least, if not all of the famous admirals in English history whose careers were identified during three centuries with adventure in the Caribbean. The author makes it clear that not only were settlements established in the West Indies and in the Spanish Main a century in advance of those in North America, but for three hundred years the struggles of the European nations for the control of West Indian commerce had a direct effect upon the development of the North American colonies.

The Conquest of New Granada. By R. B. Cunningham Graham. Houghton Mifflin Company. 272 pp.

It has remained for an English historian, R. B. Cunningham Graham, to tell the story of the life of Gonzalo Jimenez De Quesada and his conquest of the territory of New Granada, the Colombia of our day, between 1530 and 1540. It is said that even in Spain itself Quesada's name has fallen into oblivion and few English writers have ever attempted to relate the story of the conquest of New Granada—one of the most brilliant episodes in South American history. In the author's opinion, Quesada was quite as great a man as was Pizarro or Cortez. "He confronted equal perils and endured far greater hardships, conquering an empire just as interesting as was Peru or Mexico, far more remote and inaccessible."

World History: 1815-1920. By Eduard Fueter. Translated by Sidney Bradshaw Fay. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 490 pp.

A Swiss scholar, having the proverbial neutral attitude of his nation towards European affairs, has made at least a sincere effort to write the history of the past hundred years from a really universal point of view. Instead of treating each country by itself, this author has tried to get at the factors that have entered into the relations of states throughout the world ever since the Napoleonic era. He has selected the events to be treated in his narrative, bringing to the front those which he regards as of world significance. He has discarded much of the traditional material of history, retaining that which is vital. In this process Professor Fueter has the distinct advantage of having had the training of a journalist, as well as that of a professor of history.

The History of the Balkan Peninsula. By Ferdinand Schevill. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 558 pp.

We have long needed a clear presentation of Balkan history in English. For the lack of such a work whole generations of Americans have grown up in dense ignorance even of the geographical and political divisions of the Balkan Peninsula. It took a world war to show us the need of enlightenment on these matters. Professor Schevill in this volume goes back to the migratory period at the very dawn

of history, and traces the growth of nationalism and imperialism, culminating in the confused situations that have arisen during our own times. An important feature of this volume is the emphasis placed on the geographical basis of Balkan history. It is said that this is the first attempt in any language to cover the subject comprehensively.

Europe and Beyond. By J. A. R. Marriott. E. P. Dutton and Company. 335 pp.

This survey of world politics covers the half-century beginning with the Franco-Prussian War

and ending with the settlement following the World War. The book is intended as a sequel to an earlier volume, "The Re-Making of Modern Europe (1789-1871)." The author admits that the last half-century has not yet fallen into perspective, and that the time for writing the history of it has not yet arrived. But as he has been for a long time engaged on these studies, he has thought it worth while to put them in the form of a consecutive narrative for the use of other students of foreign affairs. Mr. Marriott is a Member of Parliament for Oxford, and is the author of many works on history and politics. He is well equipped as an historian.

Sociology, Politics, Economics

Studies in the Theory of Human Society. By Franklin H. Giddings. Macmillan. 308 pp.

After a lifetime of study and writing on sociology Professor Giddings presents in this volume consecutive studies of the subject without, as he says, "the form or the formality of a text." He reviews cardinal ideas and principles, exhibiting them in many lights and relations. Serious students will be richly rewarded by a careful reading of this book.

The Iron Man in Industry. By Arthur Pound. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 230 pp.

Arthur Pound is a graduate of the University of Michigan and a resident of Flint, one of the manufacturing centers of the automobile industry. His book outlines in a most interesting way the social meaning of automatic machinery. Those chapters which originally appeared as articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* roused great interest. Mr. Pound points out that the Iron Man has brought the world leisure which it is not yet fitted to employ to good advantage. He offers a modern argument for education of our industrial workers to equip them profitably to enjoy the leisure with which the automatic machine now provides them.

The Population Problem. By A. M. Carr-Saunders. Oxford University Press. 516 pp.

The author of this study began by collecting material with a view to discussing certain special aspects of the population problem, and then went on to the more difficult task of tracing out the relation of each one of these aspects to the problem as a whole. He goes back to the origin of all the most important questions that have arisen in connection with population, and attempts to view the whole problem from an historical and evolutionary standpoint. It is indeed difficult to cover so much ground in a single volume of this size, but the author modestly suggests that if he has done no more than to draw attention to the existing need of such a work he will feel that he has not wholly failed of his purpose. So far as we are aware, this is the first modern attempt to make such a presentation in English.

Aspects of Americanization. By Edward Hale Bierstadt. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 260 pp.

Refraining from sentimentalism about the foreign-born, Mr. Bierstadt frankly recognizes the un sympathetic attitude that has been held by most

Americans in the past, as well as the cruel results of this attitude. His purpose, however, is not so much to discuss the effect of these errors on the immigrant himself as to bring out the wholly bad effect on the nation. Our idea of the "melting-pot" as a "crucible which we alone shall construct, under which we shall light the fires of our making, and into which we shall throw any and all ingredients which we regard as foreign to our own" must give way to a finer and truer conception.

Americans by Choice. By John Palmer Gavit. Harper & Brothers. 448 pp.

Among the many books recently published on the subject of Americanization, this volume is the first to give detailed information concerning the actual process of naturalization as applied in this country to our foreign-born citizens and to show what is being done by the various agencies now engaged in various forms of social activity intended to extend among our people the knowledge of their government and their obligations to it. This study was made possible through the use of funds supplied by the Carnegie Corporation, of New York. Many investigators have coöperated, and the result is a most impressive showing of facts. As an illustration of the immense labor involved in the compilation of this material, it is stated that more than 26,000 petitions for naturalization in the United States courts—one-fifth of all filed in a single year—were examined and analyzed.

England. By an Overseas Englishman. Houghton Mifflin Company. 272 pp.

A direct, plain-spoken statement of England's position in relation to the British Empire from the point of view of one of her sons who speaks for the citizens of Britain's overseas dominions.

Government and Industry. By C. Delisle Burns. Oxford University Press. 315 pp.

The chief purpose of this book is to make clear the need of a new conception of the organized economic community, as set over against the nineteenth-century ideas of individualism and of state "interference" in enterprise. The author's assumption is that social organization is actually based upon the pursuit of a common good, shared by individuals, and in the economic sphere this organization is coördinated by the economic activities of government."

The American Party System. By Charles Edward Merriam. Macmillan. 439 pp.

Professor Merriam has written his analysis of the American party system as an introduction to the study of political parties in our country. He gives an account of the structure, processes and significance of the political party, designed to show as clearly as possible what the function of the political party is in the community. Professor Merriam has given twenty-five years of his life to the observation and study of the party system in the United States, besides making a first-hand study of the English party system and, on a more limited scale, of those of Germany, France and Italy. For six years he served as a member of the Chicago City Council, and in 1911 was the Republican candidate for Mayor. His practical experience, supplementing his scientific studies, has led him to see the very great importance of the party processes.

Justifiable Individualism. By Frank Wilson Blackmar. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 142 pp.

In this little book Professor Blackmar gives expression to views that have received comparatively little attention from American sociologists in recent years. He believes that undue emphasis has been placed on the value of the "mass play" of social life, and that individual culture has been neglected. In much of this teaching no room has been left for the development of personality. The author believes that in order that the individual may be trained in social responsibility and service, greater attention must be given to his natural traits and aptitudes.

The Coming of Coal. By Robert W. Bruère. Association Press. 123 pp.

Mr. Bruère offers a timely discussion of the social value of coal. It summarizes facts concerning the coal industry which otherwise would have to be sought in scientific and technical treatises.

Legislative Procedure. By Robert Luce. Houghton Mifflin Company. 628 pp.

This volume consists of an elaborate study of the law that governs lawmakers in America. It is

one of four volumes by the same author, treating of the science of legislation. Each volume is complete in itself, and the other three yet to be published will deal with legislative assemblies, legislative principles and legislative problems. Mr. Luce has served in the Massachusetts Legislature, in the National Congress, as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, and as chairman of the Committee on Rules and Procedure of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917-19.

Principles of the New Economics. By Lionel D. Edie. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 525 pp.

"New Economics" here connotes an approach to the discussion of economic topics and problems from the psychological and historical view-points, taking into account the far-reaching effects on economic processes brought about by the industrial applications of modern science. Professor Edie's book is offered as a description of economic facts, rather than a discussion of economic philosophy.

An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems. By Gordon S. Watkins. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 664 pp.

The treatment of current labor problems by Dr. Watkins is of more than academic interest. The author has embodied his own first-hand observations as a wage-earner in mines and machine industries. He holds no brief for either employers or wage-earners as a class. His chief concern in the present volume has been to analyze and describe whatever maladjustments in industry impede industrial and social progress.

Causes and Cures for the Social Unrest. By Ross L. Finney. Macmillan. 287 pp.

The author of this work, who is Assistant Professor of Educational Sociology at the University of Minnesota, offers a "progressive," rather than radical, program of reform. He makes his book "a frank appeal to the middle class," and in the various remedies that he suggests for our present economic ills he steers midway between socialism and individualism.

Travel and Description

Labrador: The Country and the People. By Wilfred T. Grenfell and Others. Macmillan. 529 pp. Ill.

This is the third edition of a standard work on Labrador. Dr. Grenfell contributes a new introduction, summing up what has been done in the last few years to extend knowledge of Labrador's resources, and describes the condition of the fisheries.

Hamburg: Her Political, Economic, and Cultural Aspects. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co. 194 pp. Ill.

This book is intended to provide the foreigner, especially in English-speaking lands, with up-to-date information concerning the second largest city of Germany. The illustrations, especially those relating to the port and harbor, are of especial interest to Americans.

Cannibal Land. By Martin Johnson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 191 pp. Ill.

This book of "Adventures with a Camera in the New Hebrides" gives the most recent information about actual cannibals among the almost unknown tribes of the Melanesian Islands. The twenty-five excellent photographs, collected for reproduction, are declared to be the best pictures of cannibals ever taken.

Last Days in New Guinea. By Captain C. A. W. Monckton. Dodd, Mead and Company. 287 pp. Ill.

Some of our readers may recall a volume of "Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate," which appeared some years ago. The same author, Captain C. A. W. Monckton, continues his narrative in this second book, "Last Days in New Guinea." Many photographs of life in New Guinea are reproduced in the book.

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